

# THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

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# THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

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## CONTENTS

Callimachus, <i>Iambus</i> 1. 9-11	B. R. REES	1
Philostratus, <i>Imagines</i> i. 24-2	H. A. HARRIS	3
Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> ix. 119	E. LAUGHTON	5
'Seven Emendations'	E. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY	7
Note on MS. Glasgow Univ. Libr. V. 3. 5-6	E. DES PLACES, A. WASSERSTEIN	7
The Clarian Oracle for the Smyrnaeans	J. M. COOK	7

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*[continued on p. 3 of cover]*



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*[continued on p. 3 of cover]*

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## CALLIMACHUS, *IAMBUS* 1. 9-11

THE passage runs as follows (Pfeiffer, fr. 191):

ἐς τὸ πρὸ τείχεος ἱρὸν ἄλεις δεῦτε,  
οὐ τὸν πάλαι Πάγκαλον ἢ πλάσας Ζᾶνα  
γέρον λαλάζων ἄδικα βιβλία φήχει.

To be considered along with these lines is the comment in the *Diegesis*:

ὑποτίθεται φθιτὸν Ἰσπώνακτα συγκαλοῦντα τοὺς φιλόλογους εἰς τὸ Παρμενίωνος καλούμενον Σαραπίδειον.

*Iambus* 1 depicts Hipponax as returning to life and summoning the φιλόλογοι to the 'temple in front of (i.e. outside) the wall'; the commentator identifies this temple with the Sarapeum of Parmenion *alias* Parmeniscus. Pfeiffer discusses it in the course of an inquiry into the dating of Callimachus and in particular of *Iambus* 1, concluding that it is of no practical value in this connexion. He holds that the identification of the 'temple outside the wall' with the Sarapeum of Parmenion is derived from a grammarian's commentary and that, if this identification is correct, as he is inclined to believe, then the Sarapeum of Parmenion cannot have been

- (a) the 'Great' Sarapeum, because Euhemerus cannot conceivably have been seen writing his ἄδικα βιβλία in a temple which we now know to have been built by Ptolemy III, or
- (b) the older *sacellum* referred to by Tacitus in *Hist.* iv. 84, not in this case for chronological reasons but because the accepted location of the latter at Rhacotis would rule out the possibility of its being described as 'outside the wall'.

He therefore suggests that the temple referred to was one of many Sarapea at Alexandria, sited outside the walls and designated as 'Parmenion's' in order to distinguish it from others, and that Euhemerus was in some way connected with it.

Setting aside the suspicion that this conclusion scarcely does justice to the traditional importance attached to Parmenion and his Sarapeum, we may make a more direct attack on its foundations. First, the only authority cited by Pfeiffer for the topographical assumption that Rhacotis cannot have lain 'outside the wall' is a statement made in a letter by the late A. J. B. Wace and based mainly on a view said to have been expressed by A. Rowe and a promise of

the subsequent publication of evidence to support it. Not only has no such evidence been published but Mr. Rowe denies ever having expressed such a view in any but the most tentative terms; as he has kindly pointed out to me, there is no dependable evidence for the position of the walls, the older maps which purport to show their position, e.g. in E. Breccia's *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, being notoriously unreliable. The topographical argument employed by Pfeiffer is thus unsupported by evidence.

Nor is the chronological argument against identifying the 'temple outside the wall' with the 'Great' Sarapeum convincing. In *Les Statues ptolémaïques du Sarapeion de Memphis*, pp. 151 ff., J.-Ph. Lauer and C. Picard have referred to the Callimachus fragment when describing and discussing the honorific statues of sages in the *exedra* of the Memphite Sarapeum, and Rowe has already suggested (*John Rylands Bulletin*, xxxix [1957], 501) that the 'Great' Sarapeum at Alexandria might have boasted a similar collection—descriptions of the Sarapeum in Roman times mention them and Mimaüt claimed to have seen there nine standing statues, holding rolls in their hands, in the nineteenth century (Breccia, *op. cit.*, p. 115). Now the fact that Callimachus depicts Hipponax as recounting to the assembled *φιλόλογοι* a story commonly attributed to the Seven Sages, the *Cup of Bathycles*, has been regarded by Lauer and Picard as suggestive. It may be even more suggestive than they think; for is it inconceivable that a statue of Euhemerus had been erected in Parmenion's Sarapeum, possibly alongside those of other 'sages', possibly recently enough to give added point to the gibe? The reference would then be not to the living Euhemerus but to his statue, a statue in the conventional manner holding a roll purporting to contain his *ἄδικα βιβλία*.

This suggestion will not win the approval of those who, like Pfeiffer, find in this passage proof of the view that Euhemerus actually wrote at Alexandria. But what is the basis of this 'proof'? Solely that the verb *ψήχει* can be, and has commonly been, rendered in this passage as 'scribbles'. Neither the rendering nor the reading is beyond doubt. *ψήχειν* in the sense of 'scribble' is unparalleled; Suidas glosses it with *καταμάσσειν*, *τρίβειν*, *ξύειν*, only the last of which really helps to establish the possibility of that sense here, and his citation of the well-known epigram *ψήχει καὶ πέτρην ὁ πολὺς χρόνος*, as well as his other instances of the use of the word, might well be held to indicate that the commoner sense of 'rub away', 'erode' would be just as acceptable, especially if a statue were being referred to. But there is an alternative reading *ψύχει*, which has better manuscript authority and was defended by Reiske; it is well attested in Hellenistic Greek in the sense of 'dry', 'air', 'cool off', and might well be more appropriate than Pfeiffer's *ψήχει*—his quotation from Sextus Empiricus in his *apparatus criticus* is at variance with that in his commentary and is surely mistaken. Nor can *λαλάζων*, though more certain, be held to be conclusive: the manuscripts and citations all give *ἀλάζων*, a word traditionally associated with the Sophists in the sense of 'charlatan' and therefore very suitable in a sarcastic reference to a philosopher who does not seem to have enjoyed a high reputation in the Hellenistic period. *λαλάζων*, on the other hand, is a very rare word, and Grenfell and Hunt were not at all certain of the reading; a re-examination of their facsimile (P. Oxy. xi. 1363) shows that their misgivings were justified: the trace read as a lambda could possibly be read as sigma, or even alpha or mu, although it must be admitted that any letter but lambda would jeopardize the well-attested *γέρων*. Neither *ψήχει* nor *λαλάζων*, then, is suffi-



ciently certain as a reading to be employed as an objection to the suggestion that it is a statue of Euhemerus which is here described; those who wish to press the claims of *ψήχει* in the sense of 'scribbles' might look again at vv. 26 to 30 and reflect whether the joke hinted at in *ψήχει* may not have been continued there, especially in the *φυσέων* of v. 30. But further speculation would be dangerous.

Granted the possibility that Callimachus might be referring sarcastically and rather typically to a statue of Euhemerus erected in a prominent position in Parmenion's Sarapeum, the chronological argument against the identification of the latter with the 'Great' Sarapeum would disappear, and we have already seen that the topographical objection to this identification, as well as that of the earlier *sacellum* with the 'Great' Sarapeum, is supported only by the opinions of archaeologists as to what may or may not be probable. The field would then be left open once more for discussion, as I left it at the end of my review of the literary and other evidence for the introduction of the cult of Sarapis into Alexandria and for the building of the 'Great' Sarapeum, a review which, unfortunately, omitted to mention this fragment of Callimachus.<sup>1</sup>

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## PHILOSTRATUS, *IMAGINES* i. 24. 2

Βαλβίς διακεχώρισται μικρά καὶ ἀποχωρῶσα ἐπὶ ἐστῶτι, εἰ μὴ τὸ κατόπιν καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν σκέλος ἀνέχουσα, πρὸν τὰ ἐμπροσθεν καὶ κουφίζουσα θάτερον τοῖν σκελοῖν, ὃ χρηὶ συναναβάλλεσθαι καὶ συμπορεύεσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ δίσκου ἀνέχοντος ἐφαλλάξαντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ χρηὶ κυρτοῦσθαι τόσον, ὅσον ὑποβλέπει τὰ πλευρά, καὶ μῦτεῖν ὡς ἀνωμῶντα καὶ προσεμβάλλοντα τοῖς δεξιοῖς πᾶσι. καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων οὕτω πως εἰσέκεινται, οὗ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἀφῆκεν.

PHILOSTRATUS is describing a picture of the death of Hyacinthus. Hyacinthus is depicted at the moment of death after being hit by the discus thrown by Apollo, but Apollo is shown still in the act of throwing. This ambivalent time scheme, by which different moments in the action of an incident are represented in the same picture, is found in other pictures described by Philostratus, e.g. i. 17 and ii. 2. The convention continued into Byzantine Christian painting and mosaic. Pictures of the Nativity, for instance, show the Babe lying in the manger and also being bathed.<sup>2</sup>

The passage quoted above is important because it gives us our best literary description of Greek discus throwing. Its value is somewhat diminished by the fact, long since recognized, that, whatever the picture may have been, Philostratus is describing Myron's famous statue of a discus-thrower. But the last sentence of the passage shows that Philostratus, who was knowledgeable about athletics, regarded the statue as an authentic representation of discus throwing as he knew it.

The chief interest of the passage lies in the first sentence, which contains our only description of the Balbis or throwing-point in the discus event. Its problems were exhaustively examined by E. N. Gardiner in *J.H.S.*, xxvii (1907). The first point involved is whether *διακεχώρισται* or *διακέχωσται* should be read in line 1. Gardiner comes down decisively in favour of *διακεχώρισται*, and his view

<sup>1</sup> See *John Rylands Bulletin*, xxxix (1957), 513 ff.; the omission was pointed out to me by Professor E. G. Turner and Dr. G. Zuntz in conversation, and by Mr. P. M. Fraser in *J.E.A.* xlv (1958), 111 and *Opusc. Athen.* iii

(1960), 11, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> C. Stewart, *Byzantine Legacy*, pp. 106, 146, 147, where one such Nativity is reproduced.

has been generally accepted. The reading *διακέχωσται* gave rise to the theory of the Balbis for discus throwing as a raised stand, a theory adopted for the discus event in the revived Olympic Games of 1896. This method of throwing, which incorporated some other features derived from Myron's statue, was known as the Greek style, and survived for about a dozen years. In the meantime athletes had developed the modern free style of throwing from a 2½-metre circle, and after the London Olympiad of 1908 the Greek style vanished from the athletic world, regretted by none.

Yet if the fallacy has disappeared from our sports arenas, it has lingered in some corners of the academic world. In Berger and Moussat's *Anthologie des textes sportifs de l'antiquité* (1927) the opening words of the passage are rendered—'C'est un tremplin de terre battue.' The Loeb edition of the *Imagines* (1931), whose Greek text is that given above, translates the passage thus:

'A raised thrower's stand has been set apart, so small as to suffice for only one person to stand on, and then only when it supports the posterior portions and the right leg of the thrower, causing the anterior portions to bend forward and the left leg to be relieved of weight; for this leg must be straightened and advanced along with the right arm. As for the attitude of the man holding the discus, he must turn his head to the right and bend himself over so far that he can look down at his side, and he must hurl the discus by drawing himself up and putting his whole right side into the throw. Such, no doubt, was the way Apollo threw the discus, for he could not have cast it in any other way.'

This will not do. In the opening phrase, the translator, trying to make the best of both worlds, has begged the question by translating both *διακεχώρισται* and *διακέχωσται*. 'It supports the posterior portions' suggests that the thrower is sitting on the Balbis. *κυρτοῦσθαι* must mean 'bend it (the head)', not 'bend himself'.

The second crux in the passage involves the words *εἰ μὴ τὸ κατόπιν . . . τοῖν σκελοῖν*. The rendering in the *Textes sportifs* is: 'La partie postérieure du corps repose sur la jambe droite et fait saillir en avant le torse et le buste.' This makes little better sense than the Loeb version and receives scanty support from the Greek text.

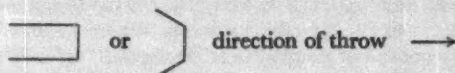
Gardiner saw that the phrase *εἰ μὴ τὸ κατόπιν* must modify *διακεχώρισται* and might well be transposed to follow it immediately. He renders the passage thus:

'A Balbis is marked off except behind, small and sufficient for one man standing, and supporting the right leg, the front part of the body leaning forward while it lightly supports the other leg, which is to be swung forward and follow through with the right hand.'

There is one point on which I venture to differ from Gardiner. It is difficult to see how the Balbis, whatever it was, can have been said *κουφίζω* a leg. Gardiner's rendering, 'While it (the balbis) lightly supports the other leg', is admirably descriptive of Myron's statue, but it is very doubtful whether *κουφίζω* could bear that meaning. *κουφίζουσα* can hardly be right. I suggest a stop after *ἀνέχουσα*, and then *πρὸ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ κουφίζοντα θάτερον τοῖν σκελοῖν*. 'The upper part of the body is bent forward, taking the weight off the other (left) leg.' This gives a legitimate meaning of *κουφίζω*, describes the

Discobolos, and is in fact what happens when one leans forward with the weight on the right leg.

If Gardiner's view is correct, the Balbis was marked out thus:



We may properly ask what was the purpose of the restricting side-lines. They were probably a practical safety measure, ensuring that the throwing should be done from a point near the central axis of the stadium. Gardiner suggests that the throwing line may well have been the same as the starting-line for runners. Had the throwers been allowed to throw from any point they pleased behind that line, a discus thrown from a spot near the side of the stadium, if it swerved only a little 'off the beam' towards that side, would have landed in the spectators' seats. A central Balbis reduced this risk considerably. Even in sport the discus and javelin were dangerous missiles, as we are reminded by the stories of Hyacinthus and Acrisius and by the second Tetralogy of Antiphon.

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### VIRGIL, *AENEID* ix. 119

119

et sua quaque  
continuo puppes abrumpunt vincula ripis  
delphinumque modo demersis aequora rostris  
ima petunt.

I WISH, in this note, to urge the merits of the reading *aequore*, which N. Heinsius was apparently the first to quote as a variant. He was followed by Burmann and Heyne, but of more recent editors, so far as I am aware, the only one who mentions it is Ribbeck. Heinsius found the reading in a fifteenth-century manuscript which he bought in Venice and referred to as 'Venetus'. It is now in the Bodleian Library, under the shelfmark Auct. F. 2. 5. Hirtzel made occasional use of it in his Oxford text (e.g. at *Aen.* ix. 141), but he does not appear to have inspected it personally (see his *Praefatio*, pp. v, vi). Ribbeck, though he mentions the 'Venetus' with approval on *A.* ix. 141 (*Prolegomena*, p. 355), quotes a different source for *aequore* in ix. 119. He includes it (*Prolegomena*, p. 353) among a number of readings worthy to be recorded from a group of *codices Vindobonenses*, two of which belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively. He makes it clear that he had not himself seen these manuscripts nor thought them of much value. The reading *aequore*, therefore, appears to go back at least to the tenth century; but even if it represents merely a scribal slip or an early conjecture, it deserves consideration in its own right.<sup>1</sup>

It is well known that *aequor*, in its maritime sense, means properly the sea's surface—the sea as viewed from outside, and the idea is so prominent in the word itself, that it can never have been forgotten, even in the freedom of poetic language. Naturally, one would not expect this 'proper' sense to be observed

<sup>1</sup> The early printed editions of Virgil of 1501 and 1521, show no trace of the which I have seen, including the Rome reading. edition of 1469 and the Aldine editions



without exception, and there was nothing to prevent Virgil from writing 'aequora ima', if he so desired; one can quote Horace, *Odes* iv. 8. 31 ('ab infimis aequoribus') and Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 99 ('imo sub aequore'). But such exceptions are rare in general, and especially in Virgil, whose use of *aequor* conforms, with striking consistency, to the 'proper' meaning. Where he attaches an epithet to it, unless it is a neutral or geographical description (*magnum, vastum, nostrum, Lybicum, Phrygium, Tyrrhenum* etc.), the adjective regularly describes the appearance or behaviour of the surface: *undosum, marmoreum, ventosum, tumidum* (the last admittedly carrying some implication of depth). The same is true of the verbs with which it is associated as object; *sternere, crasse, scindere, secare* are characteristic of Virgil's usage. In some places the idea of 'surface' becomes explicit: e.g. *A.* vi. 729 'et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus'; vii. 811 'celeres nec tingeret aequore plantas'. Apart from the present passage (ix. 119), I know of only three places in Virgil where any idea of depth seems to be attached to *aequor*: *G.* iv. 528 'haec Proteus, et se iactu dedit aequor in altum'; *A.* vii. 6-7 'postquam alta quierunt aequora'; *A.* ii. 418-19 'saevitque tridenti/spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo'. On examination, however, these passages do not prove to be exceptional. In the first and second *altum aequor* is used of the deep sea offshore, as opposed to the shallow water near the beach; it is used, in fact, exactly like the substantive *altum*, in which the idea of depth is quite subordinate to that of 'offshoreness' ('in altum provectus'). In *A.* ii. 419 *imo . . . fundo*, a somewhat stereotyped Virgilian phrase (cf. *A.* iii. 577; v. 178; vi. 581; vii. 530), may be dissociated from *aequora*: 'from the very bottom N. stirs up (the surface of) the sea'; and even if this interpretation be dismissed as over-subtle, it remains true that a depth-epithet is not being applied directly to *aequora*, and that the basic notion of the sea's surface can still be understood, and is, indeed, necessary to the picture which Virgil is painting. Thus, in *A.* ix. 119 the phrase *aequora . . . ima*, in the sense of 'the depths of the waters', virtually stands by itself; and though this fact alone is not sufficient to invalidate the accepted reading, it must certainly be taken into account.

If we look at Virgil's description, we find that *aequore* not only avoids an exceptional use of the word, but produces a more vivid and dramatic picture than *aequora*: the breaking of the cables, the dipping of the prows beneath the surface (*demersis aequore rostris*), and then the plunge to the depths (*ima petunt*). This swift sequence is weakened, and the clarity of the picture blurred, if the object of *petunt* is embedded in the ablative absolute; in particular, we lose much of the picturesque rapidity of the phrase *ima petunt*. The same phrase is used by Virgil, in just this abrupt way, in another description of a submersion, *A.* viii. 67:

dixit, deinde lacu fluvius se condidit alto  
ima petens,

a passage which appears to me to give strong support to my argument.

For the ablative with *demergo* compare Lucret. iv. 441 (*pars remorum demersa liquore* and, in Virgil, *A.* vi. 348 *aequore mersit*).



## 'SEVEN EMENDATIONS'

In a paper under this title published in *C.R.* lxxiii (1959), 200, I proposed to read  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  in Aesch. *Ag.* 1330. I learn that  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  appeared in A. Y. Campbell's text and  $\omicron\delta$  in Lawson's. Neither is noticed by more recent commentators (Thomson, Fraenkel,

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Denniston-Page).

In Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 98, I should have put forward *mobilia* with less hesitation if I had not overlooked Sen. *N.Q.* vii. 12. 2 *stellarum mobilitum*.

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## NOTE ON MS. GLASGOW UNIV. LIBR. V. 3. 5-6

A COMPARISON of the colophon of this manuscript (vol. ii, f. 381 recto) with that of the exactly contemporary manuscript Moscow, Bibl. Synod., Vlad. 184, enables us to compare two hands and two redactions belonging to the year 899 of our era.

Vlad. 184 contains the *Κλίμαξ* (*Scala Paradisi*) of Ioannes Climacus, *Ascetica* of Marcus the hermit, and the *De Perfectione Spirituali capitula centum* of Diadochus Photicensis. Of the two facsimiles in K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the year 1200*, vi (Boston, 1936), plates 375-6, the second exhibits the last sixteen of the iambic trimeters which follow the text of Diadochus (cf. *R.E.G.* lxx [1957], 380); similarly, in Glasg. V. 3. 6 we find on the verso of the last folio (381) nine iambic trimeters, of which only the first two are reproduced in Young and Aitken's catalogue<sup>1</sup> with dots in the first line, before . . .  $\rho\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ; we ought, perhaps, to read  $\langle \pi\nu \rangle \rho\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ . Thus, we would have:  $\tau\omicron\nu\ \nu\omicron\nu\ \langle \pi\nu \rangle \rho\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$   $\nu\omicron\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ . This is the scribe's usual final song of praise on the spiritual usefulness of the work. There follows, in the

two manuscripts, a line of almost identical ornamental signs.

Both scribes are monks belonging to the *Stoudios* at Constantinople, the abbot Athanasios for Vlad. 184, Ignatios for Glasg. V. 3. 5-6; cf. V. Gardthausen and M. Vogel, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (xxxiii. Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 1909), p. 159, ll. 1-3, and R. Devreese, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1954), pp. 32 and 289.

The date, 899, is given in minuscules in Glasg. V. 3. 6. A later hand repeated it on the lower part of f. 381 r.:  $\phi\eta\omicron\iota$  (?)  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau'$ , i.e. 6407 anno mundi according to the system of reckoning at Constantinople; cf. Mas Latric, *Trésor de Chronologie* (Paris, 1889), pp. 125-6. Vlad. 184 gives it in majuscules.

While Athanasios concludes  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta$   $\eta$   $\delta\epsilon\lambda\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\delta\eta\eta$  . . . , Ignatios employs the equivalent formula  $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$   $\theta\epsilon\omega$   $\tau\omicron$   $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$   $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ .

Vlad. 184 was completed on Thursday, 24 May 899; Glasg. V. 3. 6 on Monday, 16 July of the same year.

E. DES PLACES, S.J.  
A. WASSERSTEIN

## THE CLARIAN ORACLE FOR THE SMYRNAEANS

WHEN Alexander the Great slept on the Pagos of Smyrna, the Nemeseis appeared to him in a dream and bade him refound the city there. Our texts of Pausanias inform us (vii. 5. 3) that the Smyrnaeans then sent *theoroi* to Claros,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\delta$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ :

$\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$   
 $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  
 $\omicron\iota$   $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\nu$   $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$   $\mathcal{M}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .

The editors print  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$  in the first verse of

<sup>1</sup> John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *Manuscripts in the Hunterian Library of the*

the oracle. The word is said to be found in the manuscripts except for My<sup>2</sup>, where it is omitted. But  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$  here is weak; and since it is lacking in two manuscripts, it is legitimate to suggest that the word has been inserted in the text at some stage to fill out a metrically incomplete line. A more satisfactory reading, in harmony with the long-lived tradition of epic poetry at Colophon, can easily be suggested:

$\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ .

*University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908), pp. 327-8, nos. 407-8, S. Basilii . . . Homiliae.

The omission of the word *aōris* in the transmission of the text could be explained by the *homoeoteleuton*—AKIE AYTI. And the use of *aōris* here is similar to that found in Homeric phrases such as *καὶ νῦν κε τὸ τρίτον αὐτὸς ἀνάλφατε πύλαιον* (Il. xxiii. 733). The form of the oracle is based on the Homeric verse

*τῷς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις οἱ πόρ' ἔλουντο* (Od. v. 306);

and Mr. Coxon points out to me that in the text of the oracle *aōris* would help to maintain the alliteration in the second half of the line.

The proposed emendation gains support from, and indeed is prompted by, a newly published epigraphical text. This is a white marble fragment published by Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions at Leiden* (1958), no. 62. It is said to have come from Smyrna, and is

dated to the 'Roman Period (2nd cent. A.D.?)'. The editor and his reviewers<sup>1</sup> have attempted to restore parts of the text in ll. 4 ff. But they have been unable to offer any restoration of ll. 1-3 of the fragment. These lines are printed thus:

--- I I HPXÉ Xi ---  
 --- TEITPAKSIAYT ---  
 --- IEPOIMEAHT ---

In ll. 2-3 I believe that the text of the oracle for the Smyrnaeans should be restored, with *aōris* in place of *ἀνδρες*; and in l. 1 (which is unlikely to be metrical) I should tentatively suggest *ἐπὶ ἥρχε χρησμός*. This will give a clearer idea of the breadth of the inscribed face and possibly assist towards a restoration of ll. 4 ff. of the inscription.

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<sup>1</sup> Dunst, *Gnomon*, xxxi (1959), 677 f.; Woodward, *J.H.S.* lxxix (1959), 195.

## REVIEWS

### HISTORY AND THE HOMERIC ILIAD

DENYS PAGE: *History and the Homeric Iliad*. (Sather Classical Lectures, 31.) Pp. ix+350; 14 maps and plans. Berkeley and Los Angeles; University of California Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1959. Cloth, 60s. net.

THIS book is an important addition to the small number of major works on Homer in our language. In his book on the *Odyssey* Page was chiefly concerned to show that a close analysis of plot and structure can reveal something of the process of selection from, and combination of, different parts of an oral tradition. The present work has another aim: to assess the historical status of the Trojan War, and to consider the extent to which, and the manner in which, knowledge of that encounter descended to the composer of the *Iliad*.

*History and the Homeric Iliad* is an expanded record of the Sather Lectures for 1958, and much of the detailed supporting material is relegated to notes which follow each chapter and form an essential part of the work. The main chapters preserve much of the liveliness of their original delivery, and are for the most part more readable than is usual with critical works, or for that matter popular expositions, concerning classical authors. 'The glitter of rhetoric', I am happy to report, is not absent, though there are long sections where it would be out of place and is consequently omitted. The Hittite king is to be found 'bleating in cuneiform across the wine-dark sea' (p.15); lists of 'pungent questions' are put to holders of an erroneous opinion about the Catalogue of Ships, who reply with 'profound and prolonged silence', only disturbed by the final polite inquiry 'Since neither the nature of our Catalogue nor its relation to the *Iliad*

is explained by your theory, what is the use of that theory?" (p. 135). I personally like reading about 'unspeakable Argissans', about Odysseus' 'remote and foggy district', even occasionally about backgrounds being 'wholly obnubilated', especially since the opinions so lucidly and persuasively set out by the author are supported by a great weight of learning and an acute critical intelligence. Sometimes we may feel ourselves being hypnotized; on such an occasion we must reread the suspected passage in as sour a spirit of scepticism as we can muster.

The opening chapter deals with 'Achaean in Hittite Documents' and is one for which classical scholars will be especially grateful. It carefully follows out the main arguments and counter-arguments which have proliferated around Forrer's interpretation, in 1924, of certain names on the Boghaz Koy tablets as being those of Achaean men or places, like Atreus, Eteocles, Andreus, Lesbos, Troizen. For purely linguistic problems Page has relied on expert advice, but the main arguments for and against the identifications depend rather on general factors like the interpretation of the diplomacy and geography of the tablets. This applies particularly to the identification of Ahhijawā as Achaia. Here Page finds against Schachermeyr's theory of 1935 that this locality is the Greek mainland, and concludes that it refers to the Mycenaean colony in Rhodes. Its inhabitants would be the 'Achaean' with whom the Hittites came chiefly in contact; though Millawanda is accepted, with great plausibility, as Miletus. The discussion of the Tawagalawas correspondence and the geography of Asia Minor in the late second millennium B.C. is enlightening and for the most part convincing. I hesitate a little over the evaluation of the treaty of Tuthaliyas IV in which the words 'the king of Ahhijawā' have been erased from a list of great kings who are the Hittite monarch's equals. Page concludes on p. 6 that 'we have no right to use this testimony *in favour* of the Great Kingship of Ahhijawā, since what it actually declares is that Ahhijawā was judged *out of place* in a list of Great Kingdoms'. Why this kingdom was erased we cannot know, but formally it might have been for other reasons than that obtruded here, and the suspicion remains that Ahhijawā may *on occasion* have connoted the mainland power; though normally it referred to those relatives of the mainlanders who lived in Rhodes and were prone to infiltrate into the near-by coastlands of south-western Asia Minor. It is in any case odd that there are no clear references in the Hittite tablets to the Mycenaean palaces of the mainland.

In a timely and important note on pp. 21 ff. the author summarizes the position of the Aqiyawasa or Akaiwasha who were one of the sea-peoples that invaded Egypt in the fifth year of the reign of Meneptah, in the late thirteenth century B.C. The evidence suggests strongly that these people were *not* Achaeans. It was the charming habit of the Egyptians at this period to cut off either the phalli or the hands of their dead enemies on the battlefield. The Libyans on this occasion were counted by their phalli, but their allies the sea-peoples, including without question the Aqiyawasa, had hands removed instead, on the ground that their phalli were 'without *qmt*'. The meaning of *qmt*, which is regularly accompanied by the 'piece of flesh' determinative both on this Great Karnak Inscription and on the Medinet Habu relief, seems to be almost certainly 'foreskin' and in any case not 'cod-piece'. Thus the Aqiyawasa, being circumcised, cannot have been Achaeans. This conclusion and the reasons leading to it deserve wide publicity in view of the almost



universal opinion of classical scholars that Achaeans joined in the raids on Egypt. The false tale of Odysseus at *Od.* xiv. 241 ff. may suggest to many readers that they did so, but it finds no confirmation in the Egyptian records. Likewise the Danuna who are mentioned among the new wave of attackers a generation later, under Rameses III, are not the Achaean Danaoi, for the reasons set out by Page in the same note; and he must be right that they are a Levantine people. The only interpretation of *gmt* which could save the identification by making the Aqiyawasa uncircumcised, which as Achaeans they presumably were, seems to me to be as something like 'exposed *glans penis*', which would reverse the sense while keeping to the general 'piece of flesh' meaning. This would allow the sea-peoples in general to come from the northern shores, and islands, of the Mediterranean, which is the most obvious interpretation of their description, where circumcision was presumably unknown. It would also suit the Medinet Habu record where Philistines, who were notoriously uncircumcised, are closely associated with victims whose hands are cut off (Breasted, *Records* iv, § 76). Yet this is rendered unlikely both by the complexity of the suggested meaning and by the phonetic similarity of *gmt* to the Hebrew word meaning 'foreskin'.

The second chapter, on the history of Troy, presents a careful account of the archaeological evidence, based upon the publication of the American excavations under Blegen in the 30's. *Troy IV* had not appeared when Page wrote his chapter, but its general conclusions had already been given in preliminary reports and do not greatly affect the account given here. The story of Troy is a fascinating one, though it must be admitted that some parts of the chapter, including the history of the city down to the end of the fifth settlement, are not very relevant to Homer. There is a good discussion on pp. 55 ff. of whether the Trojans of Troy VI were related to the Achaeans of the Greek mainland. The introduction of a new culture around 1900 B.C. both in Hellas and at Troy, exemplified most clearly by the nearly simultaneous appearance in both places of the new Minyan pottery technique, suggests that the Achaeans and the second-millennium Trojans were off-shoots of a single broad ethnic movement. There is an interesting discussion of the sources of Trojan wealth; the author reports Blegen's conclusion that textiles and horse-rearing were an important factor, and deals harshly but convincingly on pp. 67 ff. with variants of the theory that Troy became rich through control of the Dardanelles. Troy VI was destroyed by earthquake around 1275, and its poorer successor, Troy VIIa, was sacked by invaders a generation or so later. Page clearly shows the correspondence between the archaeological and the literary and mythological records here, and reinforces the conclusion that the sackers of Troy VIIa were the Achaeans and that this event formed the basis of the tradition which culminated in the *Iliad*.

The short third chapter on the historical background of the Trojan war is important for its illumination of affairs whose memory faintly survives in the *Iliad*. The Madduwattas tablet from Boghaz Koy mentions that the Achaean Attarsijas with a hundred chariots was defeated by the Hittite, probably somewhere in south-west Asia Minor, between 1220 and 1190 B.C. The Hittites then joined the former rebel Madduwattas to attack Alasija, perhaps Cyprus, which the Hittite king claimed as his territory. Page suggests that these movements were due to the antecedent collapse around 1225 of the important semi-subject state of Arzawa, which since the fourteenth century had controlled



most of south-west Asia Minor; and that this collapse had left a political vacuum which the Achaeans from Rhodes attempted to fill. Gurney now places Arzawa in the west rather than the south-west, apparently with reason. This does not necessarily invalidate Page's suggestion, which in its main lines is attractive; though there is little evidence for the conjecture that Attarsijas was 'only one of many Achaeans who scampered up and down the coast, south and west, when the decline of Hittite power left the field free for competition' (p. 101). A similar suggestion is made about the coastal regions north of Millawanda-Miletus; for the annals of Tuthalijas IV, Hittite king c. 1250-1220, relate that after suppressing rebellious Arzawa he faced another revolt in the region called Assuwa, in which twenty-two places are named including Truisa and Wilusija. Page gives some good reasons for identifying Assuwa with the region round the Cayster river known to the Greeks, including the poet of the *Iliad*, as *Asia* or *Asie*. The possible identification of Truisa with Troia and Wilusija with (W)ilios is carefully discussed, and Page is cautiously disposed to accept at least the former equation. A document of the following reign tells us that the first rising in Assuwa was defeated, but it suggests a new danger in connexion with which Ahhijawā is somehow mentioned. Finally, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Hittites were forced to withdraw from this area, and Page thinks it probable that the Achaeans clashed with the peoples of Assuwa over the control of the rich coastal plains in the central part of the west coast of Asia Minor, from which, according to the evidence of pottery-finds, Achaean trade had been largely excluded. The attack on Troy would then be an attack on the northern pivot of the Assuwan alliance. It is not obvious why the main Achaean effort should in this case have been directed so far north; but Troy with its wealth was a great prize, and the by-passing of fortresses is not often attractive to the military, let alone the heroic, mind.

The fourth chapter, on 'The Homeric Description of Greece', argues that the Achaean catalogue in the second book of the *Iliad* is in essence a Mycenaean list of contingents which has been superficially adapted and elaborated at certain points. Here the author follows V. Burr (*Klio*, Beiheft xlix), but with considerable refinement, and in particular without sharing the improbable view that the catalogue is a relic of an actual Mycenaean military archive. The main reason for believing that the catalogue preserves memories of Mycenaean Greece is, of course, that many of the places mentioned in it were of no importance whatever, some being depopulated, in the post-Mycenaean era, yet were undoubtedly centres of population in the late Bronze Age. This is analogous to the argument advanced by Nilsson for the Mycenaean origin of Greek myths, and seems to me irresistible. Page offers a useful discussion of the discrepancies between the Achaean catalogue and the rest of the *Iliad*, particularly over the domains of Agamemnon, Achilles, and Odysseus. He argues that the catalogue's assignment of such minor kingdoms to these heroes, who were of central importance in the poem as a whole, could not be due to the Ionian singer or singers who developed the monumental poem, but must reflect an actual Mycenaean tradition at a time before the heroes in question were aggrandized by the epic tradition. The catalogue is composed without reference to the *Iliad* as a whole, though many figures, especially minor ones, are common to both. Page concludes that, since the conjunction of catalogue and *Iliad* occurred relatively late, such common features must be due to their being separately related to a single event, namely the historical attack on Troy. The

Trojan catalogue is also held, not quite so persuasively, to contain 'heirlooms from the Mycenaean past' (p. 144).

An interesting new argument is produced for the early poetical origin of the geographical content of much of the Achaean catalogue. It is based on the multitude of place-name epithets with specific rather than general content, which do not seem to be part of the later reservoir of formulas. How could an Ionian poet of the tenth, ninth, or eighth century, we are asked on p. 123, have known 'that Aegilips was rugged, Oloosson white, Enispe windy, Pteleos a meadowland, Helos on the coast?' These towns are chosen as places submerged by the Dorian invasion; but they are not, perhaps, as significant as Page would like, and I feel inclined to reply that Aegilips *means* 'precipitous', and could be described as rugged by anybody who knew merely its name; that Enispe is windy is a fair guess because it lay in the generally mountainous Arcadia; Pteleos meaning 'elm' may well suggest meadowland, even to a later poet; not all marshes (the meaning of Helos) lie by the sea, but some do. Oloosson is not susceptible to precisely this kind of interpretation, but its description as white could depend on association with a town in the same region mentioned in the preceding line, namely Argissa or 'gleaming white'. One might therefore feel inclined to rate the fictitious motivation of these and similar place-name epithets considerably higher than Professor Page does; but his emphasis on their specific and untraditional nature is nevertheless justified.

For Page the survival of Mycenaean information in association with unusual formulaic language is often a sure sign of the survival of fragments of actual Mycenaean hexameter poetry. That such there was is clearly possible, even perhaps probable. Yet Page may be felt by some critics to apply a rather severe disjunction to the possible creative periods of the oral epic, in that he often appears to argue that if a passage is not Ionian in origin then it must be Mycenaean. His reason for playing down the Sub-Mycenaean and the earlier part of the Proto-Geometric period as a possible time for important contributions to Homer is that Greece was then in a state of complete poverty and turmoil. On pp. 118 f. is quoted a series of very derogatory assessments of the post-Mycenaean Dark Age, while on p. 259 it is stated that 'the greater part of Greece was submerged for several hundred years under the flood of Dorian invaders'. This statement will probably be regarded as extreme by many historians; and, while I hesitate to challenge the authority of Page himself and the eminent allies whom he quotes on the character of the Dark Age, it nevertheless seems that the undoubtedly drastic cultural decline after the collapse of the palaces has perhaps been exaggerated. Writing naturally disappeared, and populations dispersed with the result that there were no stone-built public buildings. Yet there was artistic continuity in the pottery, and if Sub-Mycenaean pottery was usually poor yet it was often elaborately decorated—a sign of material standards well above the abysmal. There is another and highly important argument to be adduced. A low level of material culture, especially of urban material culture, does not necessarily preclude the kind of culture involved in a lively and even creative tradition of saga or sung poetry. The example of Celtic, Icelandic, and South-Slavic epics demonstrates that oral poetry may not merely survive, but may actually thrive and expand, in poor conditions and especially after the end of a Heroic Age. Further, it can thrive not in urban centres but in agricultural communities, providing only that there was some kind of meeting-place like Hesiod's *Μοῦση* or the Yugoslav village

coffee-house. Those who believe in a Mycenaean hexameter epic some of which survived down to the time of the Ionian resurgence are compelled to admit that the Dark Age must have been able to *transmit* some of the earlier poetry; and it is hard to see, on the basis of what we know of oral technique, why the interest and technical skill required for mere transmission should not also have produced important new poetry of a retrospective kind.

Page's fifth chapter considers the documents from Cnossos and Pylos, and is a notably sane and enlightening contribution to the assessment of the Linear B tablets. It contains useful comments on what can be legitimately deduced about the Mycenaean social system, on the complexity and scope of Mycenaean bureaucracy, and on terms that have been too hastily explained, like *lawagetas*, *telestai*, *hegetai*, *ktoina*, *kama*, *Ekhelawon*, *basileus*. The difference between Mycenaean and Homeric society is emphasized, though with no neglect of the distinctions to be expected between administrative documents on the one hand and heroic poetry on the other. Thus in respect of the furniture tablets Page concludes on p. 190 that 'the Mycenaean clerk and the Homeric poet describe the same object in very different terms'. Does such circumspection momentarily recede in the assertion on p. 188 that 'The existence of the title *wanax* in the *Iliad* is a plain proof of the continuity of the Greek epic from the Mycenaean period onwards'? Surely the Mycenaean term *wanax* could and would have been remembered, even without the aid of poetry, for two or three generations after the last great lord had died; the survival of the term is proof of the continuity of tradition, not necessarily of epic. The author goes on to deal with the 'military' tablets and with the personal and place-names, and concludes on p. 202 that 'The world of the tablets is one of which the Homeric poems retain only the faintest conception. The whole complex structure of society passed away, and the memory of it faded and perished: only a few points of contact, as a rule slight and superficial, have survived through the Dark Ages.' This is an important and persuasive conclusion.

The long sixth chapter, 'Some Mycenaean Relics in the *Iliad*', usefully continues the examination of well-established formulae along the lines followed for the Catalogue. Material objects like the body-shield and the boar's-tusk helmet are taken to prove that Mycenaean poetry describing them passed down into the Ionian epic. In a brief assessment of the dialect situation, especially in the light of the new Porzig-Risch theory, Page rightly stresses that the Old Aeolic residue in Homer is irreducible. He feels it unlikely that this element 'first made its way into the formular language of the Epic after the diaspora which followed the Dorian occupation of Hellas' (n. 7 on p. 266). Unfortunately we know so little about all this; whether the strong Aeolic element, seen in content as well as in dialect, was welded with the Ionic element before or after the Dorian upheaval is surely very difficult to determine. The chapter as a whole is rich in information about the Homeric formulas. Page observes that the obsolete syntax of *βοῆν ἀγαθός*, *πύδας ὠκύς* and similar phrases places them, with obsolete epithets like *ἀρπύγερος* and those like *φαίδιμος* with particularly fixed associations, in the oldest stratum of traditional poetical language. Occasionally we may feel that principles are too rigidly framed, like this one: 'where an epithet can be proved to be very ancient, a noun (or name) with which it is specially associated must be very ancient too' (pp. 229 f.). There is, no doubt, a majority of cases where this is so, though care must be taken in what 'very ancient' implies; yet there are enough cases in Homer of the



splitting and rearrangement of formula material to show that an old epithet could sometimes attach itself to a relatively newer noun-form. In a case like that of Ajax with his body-shield it is hard to resist the author's powerful and well-presented arguments. It is not quite so hard in the case of *μελίη* and *ἐνμμελίω Πριάμοιο*. The ten occurrences of *Πηλιάδα μελίη*, the 'Pelian ash-spear', and the almost complete absence of other ash-spears except in the compound epithet used of Priam and one other Trojan, are said to betoken 'extreme antiquity', to be 'a survival from a very remote past' (p. 240). But the most we can say is that this formula is very closely associated with Achilles and probably originated in Aeolic poetry. This may or may not imply an origin before the Dark Age, and Page's argument that *ἐνμμελίω* represents *ἐνμμελίον*, if correct, presupposes according to Risch a post-migration formula origin rather than one 'back beyond the Dark Ages' (p. 277).

Taken with Chapter iv this chapter presents the most powerful case yet revealed for the existence of Mycenaean hexameter poetry. Some points of disagreement there can and must be, and the reviewer feels that the equation 'very ancient = Mycenaean' is not always justifiable. Yet everyone interested in Homer will find here a mass of excellent and enlightening discussion and well-collected material. Since Parry's death there has been much talk about the formula method and how important the study of formulae is for the understanding of Homer. Little has actually been done. That little has now been very substantially increased by the present book.

The work ends with a long Appendix on 'Multiple Authorship in the *Iliad*', which treats first of the familiar difficulties of the Embassy to Achilles in book ix and its sequel in xix; and then of the problem of the wall round the Achaean camp, which Thucydides probably assumed to have been built as soon as the Achaeans arrived at Troy and not, as our *Iliad* somewhat unsatisfactorily relates, in the tenth year of the war. Here we recognize the approach of that useful book *The Homeric Odyssey*. Page summarizes, restates, and in places adds to or subtracts from the standard analytical arguments, with the intention of showing briefly that the *Iliad* is of multiple origin. By this he means that a gifted composer made use, as nearly all oral poets do, of earlier poems, some of which he extracted from and welded together so as to form, with the large parts which he composed, a new product consistent enough to meet the demands of oral audiences but revealing its manifold sources to the close attention of the literate critic. That this sort of thing happened with the Embassy is made very clear, and little mercy is shown to the rather quaint explanations offered by modern unitarians. Some of these, at least, pay lip-service to the idea of traditional oral poetry, but still do all they can to defend a type of unity which can only be required of a literate poet inventing all his material *de novo*. The Wall presents a more intractable problem. The author discusses the many ingenious attempts to emend Thucydides i. 10. 5 ff., and concludes, rightly I think, that Thucydides' *Iliad* cannot after all have contained the passage describing the building of the wall in our book vii. But the argument that this and consequential passages must therefore be post-Thucydidean in composition will not find much favour.

The reviewer has read this brilliant book several times, each time with profit and keen interest. He predicts that very many others will do the same, and that it will achieve a permanent place in the annals of Homeric scholarship.



## THE FRAGMENTS OF AESCHYLUS

HANS JOACHIM METTE: *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos*. Pp. ix + 307. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959. Paper, DM. 47.50.

THERE has been no full-scale edition of the fragments of Aeschylus since 1889, when the second edition of Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* appeared. Since then the papyri have considerably increased our stock of fragments; in particular, we have acquired the substantial finds published in *P.S.I.* xi and in *P. Oxy.* xviii and xx. The fragments preserved in quotation also urgently required re-editing. Apart from the new quotations which have accrued (principally through Reitzenstein's publication of the new Photius), many of the authors who preserve quotations have been edited again since Nauck's time; and a new edition of the fragments that takes this into account was badly needed.

It is in its treatment of the fragments from quotations that Dr. Mette's edition is most valuable. He has an excellent knowledge of the relevant literature, and has shown great diligence in basing each quotation on the latest edition of the author that preserves it. He is far more generous than Nauck in giving a large slice of the context surrounding a quotation; and when the same quotation is preserved, in whole or in part, by several different authors, he does not, like Nauck, conflate these into a single text, but prints each relevant passage in a separate section classified under a letter of the alphabet. The book contains two concordances which relate its numbering to that of Nauck and to that of Mette's own *Supplementum Aeschyleum* and its *Nachtrag*, a table of the papyri and the authors who preserve quotations, and an index of addenda and corrigenda to G. Italic's *Index Aeschyleus* (1955). These features are enough to give it an appreciable value, despite its high price and the cheap paper on which it has been printed.

One merit of Nauck's which Mette does not share is his willingness to abstain from printing an emended text of the isolated and often corrupt fragments preserved in quotations. Mette's text is disfigured not only by emendations (often highly disputable ones), but by brackets of all kinds, deletion marks, and signs for long and short which denote unnecessary and often uncertain speculations about where the fragment may have stood in the line. The critical sign it might have more of is the obelus. See, for example, frs. 21, 84, 97, 247, 263; but there are many more examples.

The speculative attitude exemplified in this has unfortunately pervaded Mette's treatment of the fragments from papyri. He modestly explains that his work is intended as 'ein Arbeitsbuch', aiming to stimulate further critical work on the newly discovered texts. But whether this aim is best served by printing in the text large numbers of supplements, most of them uncertain and not a few implausible, is highly disputable. The readers of a Loeb edition may demand this kind of thing; not so the readers of a complete major edition of the fragments. What makes matters worse is that so many of the supplements are bad ones. Many of them, particularly in the much worked-over texts like the *Dictyulci* and the *Isthmiaeae*, are the work of other scholars; some of these are improbable enough, but like most of us Mette is on the whole a better judge of other people's conjectures than of his own. In many places he has given free rein to his own flair for free reconstruction in a style and idiom that differ in

several ways from those of his involuntary collaborator. At fr. 16. 8 he elides the final diphthong of *γυμνάζομαι*, and at 442. 5 the final iota of *πνεύμασι*. At 17. 5-8 he prints a text I am unable to construe; *ibid.* 93, he suggests in the apparatus *τί δ' ἀντιποιεῖν* [*τάν*] *τίπλουν* μ' οὐ[χ] *ἀνδάν* [ον]; *ibid.* 95, he prints in the text *φέρ'*, φ̄ [γάθ', εἰπέ· πῶς τις ᾤδ'] *ἐμβήσεται*; 55. 5 appears as *ἐμὸν μὲν ἴσθι* σ[ῶμ'] *ὃν οὐδέρ' ἐγκρατές*; at 186. 15 we learn the new word *ἀντιφ[ατο]β-μεν* (also recorded in the index for the trustful reader to copy into his *Italie*). Fr. 252 (= *P. Oxy.* 2256, fr. 85) needs to be read in full; see also frs. 56, 137, 139, 390, and many others.

The same obstinate determination to get more out of the material than we can reasonably hope for has given Mette, who in copying is usually so accurate, an undue confidence in his power to read in facsimiles what first editors (very often Dr. Lobel) have failed to read in the originals, and to make new combinations between fragments. At fr. 125c, he boldly assumes that *P. Oxy.* 2255 fr. 14. 20 f. coincides with fr. 44 N.: contrast the caution of Lobel's remark on *P. Oxy.* xx. 22. At fr. 250b 3 he supposes *P. Oxy.* 2256, fr. 87. 3 to be identical with fr. 296 N.; but it is clear from the facsimile that the letter before *διαί* was upsilon, and that before that are 'faint traces compatible with *ο* but not suggesting it' (Lobel, l.c., p. 64). At fr. 343, the guess that fr. adesp. 379 N. came from the same context as *P. Oxy.* 2245 is an attractive one; but how can Mette know that it stood immediately before it 'in the text'? At fr. 355, the join between frs. 2 and 3 of *P. Oxy.* 2164 is not impossible; but how do we know that it is right?

Mette is equally over-optimistic in assigning papyrus fragments to particular plays. Snell's conjecture that Sisyphus figured in the *Isthmiaeae* is presented as though it were a certainty, despite my remarks in the appendix to the Loeb Aeschylus (pp. 546 f.); so is his attribution of *P. Oxy.* 2250 to that play. Frs. 186-90: the theory that *P. Oxy.* 2256, frs. 59-60, etc., come from the *Leon* has scarcely enough evidence in its favour to warrant their being placed under this heading in the text. 283a: Mette restores the title of the *Ὀπλων Κρίσις*: in the manuscript we have two letters. 296: *Σαλαμίνιαι* is only one of many possibilities. 387 f.: how do we know that *P. Oxy.* 2256, frs. 51-53 come from a play called after Tenes? or that it was a 'Philoktet-Drama'? It is a sign of grace that *P. Oxy.* 2256, fr. 9a is not printed under the title *Αἰνῶναι* or *P. Oxy.* 2251 under the title *Αἰγύπτιοι*: but had Mette himself been the author of these conjectures, would he have been as cautious? We now get only the first eight lines of the Milan papyrus. They do not appear, as they should, if they appear at all, under 'Fragmenta Dubia'; but perhaps that is because there is no section in the book with this heading.

Fr. 87 (from Marius Victorinus ii. 10, p. 98. 7 Keil) is not a fragment of Aeschylus; the notion seems to derive from an odd misunderstanding of a footnote on p. 335 of Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*. The editor several times commits the error of printing words like *χῶρι* with a rough breathing, castigated by Housman at *C.R.* xxxix (1925), 76. I do not complain of the preface and apparatus criticus being written in German. But I protest against the confusing pedantry of referring to scholars of the Renaissance and the seventeenth century by their vernacular names instead of by the latinizations familiar during their lives and after; see Bywater in the *Journal of Philology* for 1913.

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## THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

E. LOBEL and E. G. TURNER: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XXV. Pp. xii+131; 14 plates. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1959. Boards, £5. 10s. net.

THE fragments published in this volume are even more exiguous than usual and only professional scholars will have much joy of them. They will at least have the pleasure of admiring the unrivalled learning, accuracy, and acuteness of Dr. Lobel and the elegance and conciseness of his annotation.

2426-9 comprise fragments of Doric comedy, 2430-4 choral lyric of which Simonides is or is thought likely to be the author. 2426 contains parts of lines, almost certainly trimeters, of a verse catalogue of Epicharmus' plays; Apollodorus, as a commentator on Epicharmus and the author of a versified chronology, is a candidate for authorship. The list mentions a *Medea*, a title elsewhere ascribed to Dinolochus but not to Epicharmus.

2427 fr. 1 must come from the play, or from one of the plays, in which Epicharmus depicted Deucalion, Pyrrha, and Prometheus. The scene seems almost certainly to consist of 'a series of questions from Deucalion and answers from Prometheus about the construction of the ark, interrupted by Pyrrha with an expression of her suspicion that Prometheus means to steal it for himself': Lobel, on p. 4. It seems clear that all three actors are on the stage at once; the same had been guessed to be the case in the *Amrys* and in the *Ἑλπίς ἡ Πλούτος* (see A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, p. 404). Fr. 27 of the same collection (portions of 14 tetrameters) is tentatively assigned to the *Ἡβας Γάμος ἡ Μοῦσαι* on the ground that two of the kinds of bread enumerated in fr. 52 Kaibel are here mentioned together; but Lobel points out that this indication is not conclusive, and that the occurrence in l. 10 of the name *Λεύκαρος* gives ground for suspecting that the piece comes from the same play as fr. 1. Epicharmus probably called Deucalion *Λευκαρίαν* (see fr. 114 Kaibel and the following fragments); is *Λεύκαρος*, Lobel asks, a name for Prometheus? L. 3: *κόλλ]ικας* seems a possible supplement.

2429 contains part of a commentary on Epicharmus with lemmata. The play dealt with, at least in the first and most extensive of the seven fragments, is the *Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος*, and the passage explained partially coincides with that known from the Rainer papyrus (fr. 99 Kaibel), which until the publication of P. Heidelberg 181 in 1956 was our only papyrus text of this author. Odysseus seems to be discussing with another person the awkward predicament he has got himself into. L. 8: the lemma

α[ ]νεονθορας ολονπερ ἐπι . . . συνρυχών

is explained by the words ἀπὸ τῶν εἰ[ν] ταῖς ὁδοῖς κατὰ ἀπαξίωσιν τῇ [κ]ι]γήσει τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀσπαζομένων. While pointing out that the forms ὀρῶ and σ' would not be those expected, Lobel considers the possibility of reading *μικ]εῖνονθ' ὀρῶ σ'*: another possibility would be *διαν]εῖνονθ' ὀρῶ σ'*, if the interpretation of the use of *διανεύειν* at Plutarch, *Mor.* 454 d that is offered by C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, p. 94, n. 5 is the correct one. Ll. 11-12: the lemma and comment taken together seem to imply that a line of the text ran

διλλ' ὀρέω τί φέξωρ' ἀνῆς; τοῖδε τῶνχοιοί πέλας.



We now learn that the portion of the text preserved in the Rainer papyrus should read as follows:

..... ε]νθὼν τεῖβε θακῆσαι τε καὶ λεζοῦ[μ' ὄν]ως  
 ῥήδω' εἶμιν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς δεξιωτέροις ἐμείψ[ε].

The commentary seems to imply that a change of speaker occurred after these two lines; and that ἐμὶν in l. 3 was preceded by ὡς. Did l. 3 begin, for example, ὠδοῖς,] ὡς . . . ? How many persons were present on the stage?

2430 comprises 165 fragments, selected from a larger number, probably all by the same copyist and containing remnants of 'at least five unrelated texts'. One coincidence with a known quotation from Simonides has been recognized (see below); and Lobel justly observes that it is improbable that so great a quantity of text would have revealed no overlaps if Pindar or Bacchylides had been the author. Fr. 32 describes a birth; and since it probably belongs to a paean (as fr. 35 and 55 certainly do), this is doubtless the birth of Apollo and Artemis. The mention of *Καρὼν ἀλκίμων* (l. 1 of the text) seems to point away from Delos; Lobel observes that one place associated with Apollo's birth was the River Cenchrius near Ephesus, and according to Strabo 640 this locality was at one time inhabited by Carians and Leleges. Another indication may be discovered in the scrap of commentary which precedes the scrap of text, and reads as follows:

]στρατος καὶ ἀγα[  
 π]αρέθηκεν ὄδω ο.[  
 ], τὴ δὲτα δνοση[  
 ], καθομιλιζομένων[

*ἐνομή* in choral lyric generally means 'noise' (e.g. at fr. 35. 9), and it can mean 'a battle-cry'. I suspect that the commentary told the story (mentioned by Strabo 639) that during the birth the Curetes took up their position on the neighbouring Mount Solmissus in order to distract the jealous Hera by the clashing of their weapons. *στρατος* in l. 1 may have referred to the *στρατός* of the Curetes, and *καθομιλιζομένων* to their activity on this occasion. Fr. 55 seems also to refer to Apollo's birth, but there there is mention of the daughters of the Delians. If my surmise about fr. 32 is right, I wonder how the Ephesian birth-story was squared with the Delian version.

Fr. 35 contains portions of the last ten lines of what seems to have been a paean for the Athenians. It begins *Π]άρνηθος ἀπὸ ζαθέας* (for the possibility that Apollo was worshipped on Mount Parnes, see J. Wiesner in *R.-E.* xviii. 4. 1664); and the Athenians are mentioned in a scholion. Immediately below this occurs the title *Ἀνδρῶν εἰς Πυθώ*; but of the poem that followed only part of the first line is preserved. As a footnote to E. Fraenkel's remarks in *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik (Festschrift für G. Jachmann)*, 1959, p. 13, it may be mentioned that at fr. 35. 7 we find *ὀρέδρπομον* and at fr. 37. 4 *ὀρίδρπομον*.

At fr. 79. 12 Lobel has recognized the quotation preserved (in an erroneous form, as it now seems) by several authors (fr. 80 A Bergk = 39 Diehl), and has restored

ἐνὶ δ' οἴῳ] εἰκεὶ θ[εὰ δίκη]ρον ἐς μέγαν θορόν.

Lobel seems to imply that this means, 'For one man only does the goddess (Victory) make way into her great chariot'. The Greek certainly could mean this; but at this early date 'the chariot of victory' would be a somewhat unusual concept. There are indeed vases on which Victory has a chariot (Louvre ED



15 and Salonika 34, 239 are cases in point). But we think far more readily of Victory hovering over the chariot of the victor, as in the group of statuary described by Pausanias vi. 12. 6 and as in the famous Syracusan coins of this period (see F. Studniczka, *Die Siegesgöttin*, Leipzig, 1898, figs. 14 and 15, or B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 172 ff.). I should prefer to translate, 'To one man alone does the goddess yield so that she leaps on to his great chariot'.<sup>1</sup>

Fr. 92 is clearly from an epinicion; the commentary makes mention of one Orrichidas. We may add to Fraenkel's quotations in defence of the tradition at Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1559 against Porson l. 6 of this fragment:

χαίρων δ' ἀμφὶ πᾶσιν ὤσθ' ἡλὶ μάτηρ ἀφ' ἡλίου . . . (sc., e.g., ἔβαλεν).

2431 contains small fragments of an epinicion on a victory in the horse-race by the sons of Aiatios, a Thessalian; this permits Lobel to make an interesting observation about the titles of Simonides' epinicia and brilliantly to restore *Alátios* as the correct name of the victor of the battle of Arne and author of the *Θεσσαλῶν σοφίσμα* mentioned by Polyaeus and other writers. For further places where the article of the Atticist Pausanias which he refers to is quoted, see H. Erbse on Pausanias *Θ* 12 (*Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*: Abh. der Deutschen Akad., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1949, No. 2, p. 186).

The piece whose ascription to Simonides seems to me most questionable is 2432. The sentiment certainly resembles that expressed in the famous poem discussed in Plato's *Protagoras*; but, as Lobel says, 'poets do not repeat only themselves'. True, the poem contains the word *αἰσχρός*, which is found twice in the poem to Scopas, but only once in Pindar and Bacchylides together. It also contains *ὀλίγους*, which occurs neither in Pindar nor Bacchylides; yet Pindar has *ὀλίγον* (Paeon 4. 52) and Bacchylides has *ὀλιγοσθενέων* (5. 139). *δολοπλ[όκου]* (l. 9) carries little weight; Pindar has *δολοφραδής* (*Nem.* 8. 33). The poem is written in lyric iambics of a sort not found in what we have of Pindar and Bacchylides; and that fact may be held to make against their authorship. But my subjective feeling, for what it is worth, would be against Simonides and in favour of Bacchylides; the verse seems to me rather too easy, neat, and superficial for the older poet. I set out the text of the first fourteen lines; the last seven are too scrappy to be worth it. The supplements in the text are Lobel's, except at the end of l. 6.

τὸ τ]ε καλὸν κρίνει τὸ τ' αἰσχρόν' εἰ δὲ  
 . . . (.) . . ἀγορεῖ τις ἄθυρον [σ]τόμα  
 περ]φ[έρ]ω[ν], ὃ μὲν κυπνὸς ἀνέλθ[η], ὃ δὲ[  
 χρυ]σὸς οὐ μαίνεται.  
 5 ἃ δ' ἀλ[λ]ήθ[η] παγκρατ[ής],  
 ἀλλ' ὀλίγους ἀρετὰν ἔδωκεν εἰδ[έ]ν  
 ἔς τ]έλος· οὐ γὰρ εὐφροδ[ὸν] ἐσθλ[ὸν] ἔμμεν.  
 ἥ γ]άρ ἀκοντὰ νῦν βιάται  
 κέρ]δος ἀμάχητον ἢ δολοπλ[όκου]  
 10 με]γασθεν[ῆς] οἰστ[ρο]ς ἡφροδ[ί]τ[ας]  
 . . .]θαλοῖ τε φιλονικίαι.  
 εἰ δ]ὲ μὴ δ[ὲ] αἰάντος δόλαι  
 ]θεν κλέυθον  
 ]ος ἐς τὸ θυμωδόν[.]

a e. g. κενὸ κ]αγαγορεῖ?

6 finem suppl. LI.-J.; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 89; id., fr. 203 Snell

8 seq.; cf. Simon. fr. 76 Bergk = 55 Diehl 11 fort. ἐρ]θαλοῖ (cf. Simon. fr. 54 Bergk = 33 Diehl: ἐρ[θ]αλόν Hartung: ἐρ[θ]αλλόν codd.)

<sup>1</sup> The nearest formal parallel to the syntax is *Od.* v. 332 (τὴν ναῦν) Ἔβρος Ζεφύρου εἴλασκε δαίμων, but cf. also Sophocles, *Phil.* 464-5

σηγρία' ἂν θεός | πλοὺν ἡμῖν εἴκη (where Jebb was tempted to read πλεῖν).



*Ichn.* 324 f. Pearson (= 260 f. Page); cf. 362 f. Pearson (= 289 f. Page); and Turner's supplement *Πρωδ-]* μου and his suggestion that l. 3 might well be a humorous remark of Silenus are attractive. Further, l. 4 recalls the fragment of a chorus that has been assigned to the *Prometheus Pyraeus* (2245 = Aeschylus fr. 278 Ll.-J., ll. 1-13); and ll. 7-8 recall the similar appeals in the *Dictyulci* (*P.S.I.* 1209 = fr. 274 Ll.-J., ll. 18-20) and in the *Ichneutae* (32 f. Pearson = 26 f. Page). Further, at the end of l. 2 'Υμῆν is a possible reading, and the mention of torches in l. 6 may be connected with an approaching wedding. Such a situation would fit well into a satyr-play, and has its counterpart in the *Dictyulci*. Again, the possibility that in l. 2 a child of Ares is mentioned would make somewhat in favour of the hypothesis of an early date; but the articulation in this place cannot be determined with any certainty.

In 2437 Lobel offers yet another manuscript containing part of the tantalizing section of *Hecale* fr. 260 known to us from 2217 and 2398. Combined with these, it yields the following piece of text:

43A	γαστέρι μοῦνον ε]χομι κ[ακῆς ἀλεκτήρια λιμοῦ
43B	.]δομεχ[ ]έχειδο[
44	ἀ]λλ' ἐκαλ[ ]ελ]ει, γονεῖδ.[
45	. . θ.ακ[ ]νον π.αχ.[
46	καὶ κρίμων (κυκε)ῶνος ἀπ[οστέφαντος ἐραζε
47	. .]ἀμνη . . ρητ]is ἐπ[ίσσεται; κτλ.
	.[:

43A fr. 346 44 .[: 'not ε, perhaps a damaged ο or ω': Lobel

At the beginning of 43B, Lobel (vol. xxiv, p. 98) suggested ἡ δ': Professor P. Maas thinks 'Αἶδου may have been written by mistake for 'Αιδέω, so that the line may have begun, for example, 'Αιδέω μ' ἐχ[θιστος] ἐχει δόμος. But this suggestion does not explain the accent on ἐχει, and I cannot relate it to the context. In 44 Lobel remarks that 'if what is being said is that the speaker got (asked for, or the like) just what kept body and soul together, perhaps the proper articulation here is λειτον, i.e. λιτόν'. If this is right, ἐδε[σμά τι seems possible despite Lobel's warning (ἐδεσμά μοι is less likely because of the word order). Supposing ἀλλ' 'Εκάλη to be right, the next word could conceivably have been an adverb, such as τάχα: more probably it was an imperative such as φέρε (note that neither πόρε nor any part of this verb is found in this author). Suppose that the tentative reconstruction ἀλλ', 'Εκάλ[η, φέρ]ε λιτόν ἐδε[σμά τι or something like it is correct, it would follow that the crow is the speaker, and is asking Hecale for food, a notion with which l. 46 is not inconsistent. For the crow as a beggar, see Athenaeus 359 ff.; note that in Phoenix fr. 2 Knox (= 2 Powell) there quoted (l. 1) the crow asks for barley. Note also that the crow is much likelier than Hecale to have prophetic power; cf. Apollonius iii. 927 f. and Nonnus, iii. 97 f., and see the literature quoted by Gossen-Steier, *R.-E.* xi. 1664. The suggestion recently put forward by F. Kraaft (*Hermes*, lxxxvi [1958], 473) and by C. A. Trypanis (in his Loeb edition of the Fragments of Callimachus, opposite p. vi), that the speaker of this whole passage is not the crow but Hecale, seems to me unlikely to be right. Its only support derives from the wording of the Suda, s.v. *ναὶ μὰ τόν* (N 98 Adler); and here the words 'Εκάλη εἴπε may be simply a mistake.



## NONNUS

RUDOLF KEYDELL: *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*. 2 vols. Pp. lxxxi + 500; Berlin: Weidmann, 1959. Paper, DM. 37.34.

ARTUR LUDWICH's Teubner edition of the *Dionysiaca* has held the field for fifty years. It certainly represented an advance on Koehly's text of 1857-8; but its deficiencies were many, and were soon exposed in a masterly review by Paul Maas (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xxxi [1910], 2586; cf. now Keydell in *Bursian's Jahresberichte*, cccxx [1931], 101 f.). Ludwig had himself shown (*Hermes*, xii [1877], 273) that all other manuscripts of Nonnus derive from Laur. 32, 16 (L); but none the less he chose to encumber his apparatus with many readings of the apographa. Both the apparatus and the text itself contain innumerable conjectures, many of them of little or no value.

The greatest living authority on late epic has now replaced this book with a critical edition that is the product of nearly forty years' study in this field. Many better authors than Nonnus have yet to be edited with such a remarkable combination of profound learning, sound judgement, and keen critical acumen.

The Latin preface presents the ancient allusions to the author, carefully describes L and the Berlin papyrus, deals briefly with the apographa, and offers a full bibliography of all work relevant to the constitution of the text. There follows a full and clear account of Nonnus' metric, based on the work of Maas, and a valuable section dealing with his morphology and syntax.

In order to reduce costs the text is physically based on a photographic reproduction of Ludwig; but it is a very different text from his. Keydell displays extraordinarily sound judgement in his choice of readings; but he is not one of those sober critics whose sobriety results from unwillingness or inability to emend. Besides incorporating many excellent conjectures which he has published between 1923 and the present time (those on xlii. 132 and xlvii. 87 seem to me particularly brilliant), he offers many new ones. Almost all seem to me right, and many excellent. Here is a list of places where he offers especially good new ones: ii. 182; v. 55; vi. 276, 288; x. 216; xiv. 137; xvi. 118; xx. 181, 336; xxii. 137; xxiii. 41, 95; xxix. 195; xxxiii. 200; xxxiv. 48; xxxvii. 123; xxxix. 182 (one due to Tiedke); xl. 268; xli. 356-7; xlii. 405; xliii. 366; xlvi. 15, 364; xlvii. 316; xlviii. 170, 858. Note also the defences of manuscript readings at xvi. 318 and xxiii. 188. This list of good things is certainly not exhaustive. Further, Nonnus is far less disagreeable to read in this edition than in Ludwig's. We are not troubled with the readings of the apographa, except where they offer a conjecture worth noting; and the modern emendations mentioned are comparatively few, but are chosen with what seems to me excellent discrimination.

I make bold to offer a few criticisms and suggestions. i. 8-9: Keydell informs me that the vertical stroke in the margin by which he had meant to indicate that these lines were alternatives to one another was omitted by accident. But the difficulty is more satisfactorily disposed of by reading *καὶ* for *ὥς*: for the corruption, cf. xxxvi. 303, and for the converse one, cf. xxxiii. 218. iii. 400: Maas's conjecture should be in the text; cf. xiv. 364, where I prefer Maas's explanation, but Graefe's conjecture. v. 582: read *μοιχευθείσαν*. The verb is not found in Nonnus; but here it seems unavoidable. vi. 354: read *προθέοντι*. viii. 240: H. J. Rose (in the Loeb edition) cannot be right in thinking Nonnus would



confuse Lerne with Nemea; read *δρακοντοβότῳ*. x. 256: the repetition is odd, and the word *δρασιπτερος* suspicious; read *τανυσίπτερος*. x. 304: it might be better to obelize the line, rather than both emend and postulate a gap. xii. 6: read *φερεζῶν παρὰ δώμασιν*. xii. 266: Lobeck's suggestion that *βαλὼν* can stand for *ἀποβαλὼν* does not convince. Cf. viii. 182-3; that passage suggests to me that something is lost after *θύγατρα*, and that the sense is something like 'whom (a god or daemon has destroyed), striking down both with a like fate'. xiii. 271: *ἐθάμβεεν*, which got in from l. 268, is rightly obelized. The right reading may be *ἐπῆνεσεν*, used in the sense of 'praised, (but declined)'. (But is this an epic usage?) xviii. 60: Graefe's *ποσοὶ δασυκνήμοισι* is worth a mention; cf. xiii. 45; Agathias, *A.P.* vi. 32, etc. xviii. 283: Nonnus is imitating Callim. fr. 75. 37 (q.v., with Pfeiffer's note), and must have written *ἐπιπληγέντας* or *ἐνιπληγέντας*. In the line before, he is characteristically exploiting the fact that *νεφέλη* can mean both 'cloud' and 'hunting-net'. xix. 148: should we read *οὐχ ὄρος αἵχμης*? Nonnus may have in mind *δίσκου οὐρα* (*Il.* xxiii. 431) and *δίσκουρα* (*ibid.* 523). xix. 327: Graefe's *Διονύσῳ*, approved by Hermann, seems to me right. xx. 236: perhaps read *ἀρήια δοῦρα Λυαίων* (spoken in irony). xxi. 182: Hermann's conjecture seems convincing. xxiii. 28: Moser's *ἐρίβρομον* is worth a mention; cf. xlviii. 13, where I suggest *ἐρίβρομα*. xxv. 173: Keydell's emendation does not convince. Possibly the line ended *Ἄρης*, and *Ἰνδός* was actually the last word of the next line, the rest of which is lost. xxv. 397: Scaliger's *ῥυμὼν* is worth mentioning. xxviii. 287: Keydell rightly says that *ἄκρον* for *ἄκρην* is unusual. In the exemplar (*Il.* xx. 227; cf. Hesiod fr. 117, Callim. fr. 75. 46), *ἄκρον* agrees with *καρπὸν*, and *καρπὸν* seems needed here. I suspect that *ἀνθερίκων* is a reminiscence of the exemplar, perhaps written in the margin to explain *σταχῶν* in l. 286; and even at the risk of removing the very Nonnan construction of *οἰδένω* c. accus. (cf. Prolegomena 56\*), I would substitute *καρπὸν ὑπὲρ*. xxix. 81: Scaliger's *ἄλλωσεν* should be in the text. xxix. 119: *τάχα* has surely found its way in from the preceding line to displace *καὶ*. xxxv. 5: here and at xxxix. 302, read *ἔξυτόροις*; at xl. 444, read *ἔξυτόροις* (see *C.Q.* vii [1957], 12 f.). xxxviii. 166: the manuscript reading is protected by xii. 120, and by Rule 4 at Proleg. 35\*. But Lobeck's conjecture gives better sense; and though the exceptions to the rule have all more than one proper name, I cannot help wondering whether *Φαεθοντιάδος* does not excuse a further exception here. xliii. 405: read *πυρίδρομον* (Maas; cf. xxix. 209). xlv. 105: perhaps read *μόστιγος*. xlvii. 356: Maas's *εἰ θέμις* is surely right; Ariadne does not hesitate to complain of an affront to Theseus, but does not dare to complain of an affront to the goddess. xlvii. 603: *τέο δήμιος* must be corrupt; but *μενεδήμιος* is palaeographically unconvincing, and the explanation from Hyginus somewhat far-fetched. xlvii. 731: *θύρσοι* is surely right; cf., for example, Eur. *Bacch.* 187-8. xlviii. 337: transposition hardly solves the difficulty; is something missing after this line? xlviii 399: *ματάλας* in Sophocles (l.c.) hardly justifies the sense assigned to *μάτην* here. xlviii. 616: the line would gain in point if *ἄγρη* were written. In this context the corruption postulated would have been almost inevitable. xlviii 659-60: De Marcellus conjectured *ἡθάδος ἄντην μαζοῦ*. Is it too bold to suggest at 659 *ἡθάδος ἄντην δεσμοῦ* and at 660 *μαζοῦς*?

Above the apparatus are given passages of other authors which Nonnus imitated or may have imitated. This list is of great value, and includes some very out-of-the-way information. But there are some omissions, a few of them surprising ones; and a short supplement may be useful. ii. 641 (also xxxviii.

278): cf. Hes. fr. 240. iv. 213-25; cf. Apoll. iv. 54-66. v. 233; cf. Callim. H. 4. 230-1. x. 12-13 (also xxxii. 123-4): cf. Eur. *Rhes.* 36. xiv. 210-11: cf. Apoll. iii. 882-3. xv. 88: cf. Callim. fr. 260, 58; H. 4. 234. xv. 101: cf. *Il.* ix. 491. xv. 119: cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 1021 (of Dionysus). xv. 407-8: cf. Theocr. 1. 71-72. xvii. 271: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1-2. xxi. 123 (also xxxviii. 338-9; xxxix. 239-40): Euphorion in Page, *Gk. Lit. Pap.*, No. 121b, l. 32, p. 498. xxvii. 186: cf. Callim. fr. 384, 34. xxvii. 306: cf. Callim. fr. 350, 2 (= *P. Oxy.* 2377. 3). xxxii. 12-13: cf. Callim. H. 5. 21-22. xxxii. 254: cf. *Il.* i. 225. xxxiii. 377: cf. Callim. H. 4. 189-90. xxxiv. 118 (cf. *ibid.* 46): cf. Theocr. 10. 27. xxxvi. 220: cf. *Il.* xi. 425, etc. xxxviii. 43: cf. Eupolis fr. 94. 5 Kock. xxxix. 242: cf. *Il.* xvi. 162. xl. 113: cf. *Il.* xxiv. 725 (the most grotesque of Nonnus' borrowings). xli. 209-10: cf. Soph., fr. 838 Pearson. xlii. 79-80: cf. Eur. *Med.* 1162. xlvii. 672: cf. *Od.* v. 436 f. xlviii. 271: cf. *Il.* xi. 562. xlviii. 620: cf. *Il.* vii. 195.

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## HERACLITUS

PHILIP WHEELWRIGHT: *Heraclitus*. Pp. ix+181. Princeton: University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1959. Cloth, 30s. net.

THE efforts of scholars have now made the study of the Pre-Socratics so extremely complicated that a book which charted a clear course through dangerous waters would be sure of a welcome. Such in part is the present book. The dust wrapper claims that it is the first book written in English to introduce Heraclitus to the general reader. This, as so often, is subtly misleading, although it may be literally true if we exclude books which deal with other thinkers alongside Heraclitus. But the book is not merely intended for the general reader, but for the classical scholar also, and it will be found to contain matter that concerns the specialist as well. We are given a new translation of the surviving fragments, re-numbered and grouped in chapters according to subject-matter, with a good deal of technical information, including the Greek texts, in notes at the back of the book. Each group of fragments is followed by a general discussion, where divergent interpretations are considered when they seem important. But the emphasis is rather upon a critical synthesis—we are searching for the wood and are not to spend too much time on individual trees.

A very brief introduction deals with the Pre-Socratics before Heraclitus. Change is described as an ontological passage from contrary to contrary without intermediary state and without continuing substrate for most of the Pre-Socratics including Heraclitus. To some this will seem untrue and perhaps more discussion would have been desirable. It is dangerous to say (p. 113, n. 2) that 'the connotation of spontaneous growth tends to be present in all early Greek discussions of nature (*φύσις*)', but there is a valuable warning against Idols of the Theatre in the interpretation of the Pre-Socratics. These are listed as our grammatical distinction between parts of speech, our logical distinction between the concrete and the abstract, and our epistemological distinction between subject and object. This is all very pertinent and others might have been added in that it is becoming fashionable increasingly to argue from general propositions in cases where evidence conflicts or is lacking, and such

propositions require the most careful scrutiny before they can be safely applied to the thought of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. An example is given below.

Chapter i, 'The Way of Inquiry', deals primarily with the Logos. We are given what might be called a 'combined' interpretation, according to which the Logos is both the doctrine of Heraclitus and the cosmic principle to which the doctrine gives expression, and this is likely to command general assent. Chapter ii, 'Universal Flux', however, attributes an unqualified flux-doctrine to Heraclitus without any indication that this is seriously questioned by a number of scholars. It is argued that in the experience of Heraclitus all things are constantly changing because the perceived qualities are seen to waver, e.g. if we gaze fixedly at a thing. This is the exact reverse of the principle applied by Kirk and Raven (*Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, p. 197) according to whom we can infer from Heraclitus' reliance upon the senses that he could not have thought that everything was always changing. In fact we do not know whether Heraclitus was arguing from sense-experience at all (so Popper, 'Back to the Presocratics', in *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 1958-9), and if he were, we cannot infer his conclusion in this way from general propositions. The flux-doctrine can only be discussed effectively in the light of the detailed evidence—otherwise we import Idols of the Theatre. In Chapter iii, 'The Processes of Nature', Wheelwright would keep fr. 76 Diels, rejected by Kirk (Kirk and Raven, p. 206, n. 1). He does so by arguing that either Heraclitus held different views at different times and fr. 76 represents an early stage in his thought, or he held both views at once but regarded air as potentiality and the other three elements as actualities. Neither expedient is plausible. The four elements were not standardized before Empedocles and in any case since all we know about Heraclitus comes from a single book we are most unlikely to have received two conflicting accounts both coming from Heraclitus. On the other hand, there is absolutely no evidence for attributing a doctrine of potentiality to Heraclitus. The question of a Universal Conflagration is regarded as uncertain, but on the whole Wheelwright seems to regard it as a possible doctrine for Heraclitus. In Chapter v, 'In Religious Perspective', we have a new interpretation of fr. 26 Diels, which may be briefly discussed. Wheelwright would keep the full text without excisions—*ἄνθρωπος ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φάος ἀπτεται ἐαυτῷ· ἀποθανὼν ἀποσβεσθεὶς ὄψεις ζῶν δὲ ἀπτεται τεθνεῶτος εὐδῶν. ἀποσβεσθεὶς ὄψεις ἐγγηγορῶς ἀπτεται εὐδοῦτος*—and he translates 'as in the night-time a man kindles for himself a light, so when a living man lies down in death with his vision extinguished he attaches himself to the state of death; even as one who has been awake lies down with his vision extinguished and attaches himself to the state of sleep'. He argues that 'attaches himself—*ἀπτεται*', when it occurs the first time, has a second meaning by what is called 'plurisignation'. The second meaning is 'flares into flame', this being what happens to the soul at death. The conjecture provides an interesting addition to Heraclitus' account of the soul at death, but the interpretation must, I think, be wrong. There is an intolerable succession of nominative participles in the Greek, and the *δέ* after *ζῶν* comes too late. *εὐδῶν* is left untranslated, and *τεθνεῶτος ἀπτεται* cannot mean 'he attaches himself to the state of death'. The second meaning involves a change of syntax—*ἀπτεται* used absolutely, and there is no evidence for it anyway.

This example points to a difficulty which the book as a whole does not altogether escape. If scholars have made the study of the Pre-Socratics complicated, this is not from wilfulness on their part but is due to the nature of



the material. Clearly the major problems of Heraclitus require a more technical discussion than is possible in a book of the present kind.

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## ELEATIC PHILOSOPHY

J. H. M. M. LOENEN: *Parmenides, Melissus, Gorgias. A Reinterpretation of Eleatic Philosophy*. Pp. 207. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1959. Paper, fl. 14.50.

DR. LOENEN, who is lecturer in philosophy in the University of Leiden, was the author of *Het Nieuw in het System van Plato's Philosophie* (Amsterdam, 1951), but is not to be identified with Dr. D. Loenen, author of *Protagoras* (1940) and *Polemos* (1953). We are now offered a radically new interpretation of the doctrine of Parmenides and the whole Eleatic tradition before Plato, although Zeno is only mentioned incidentally. This involves a detailed reinterpretation of most of the surviving fragments of the three authors mentioned in the title, and the greater part of the book is necessarily devoted to very complicated and highly technical arguments. Most of the details cannot be discussed here but this is perhaps of less importance since Loenen would agree that the whole thesis stands or falls upon two or three basic contentions about Parmenides' meaning.

The starting-point is the question what is the subject of *ἐστιν* in the key sentences in Parmenides' poem, and the answer given is that the subject is *τι*. This should be restored in the text by emendation in frs. 2, 3 and 8, 1-2, giving in the first case *ἡ μὲν ὅπως ἐστιν τι* and in the second case *μόνος δὲ τι μῦθος ὁδοιο λείπεται ὡς ἐστιν* where *τι*, which is a variant reading in Sextus, is to be taken proleptically with *ἐστιν*. Support for this proposal is adduced from a number of quarters, including the words with which Simplicius begins his paraphrase of fr. 1 of Melissus *εἰ δὲ τί ἐστιν* together with *εἰ τι ἐστιν* in MXG 974 a 2, and the *τι* which certainly occurs in the version of Gorgias' treatise found in MXG. The text, it is claimed, was altered to our received text between the time of Gorgias and the time of Plato, and this led Plato and all subsequent interpreters down to the present time to misunderstand Parmenides' meaning. All this will seem to most readers very hard to believe, and the prolepsis introduced into fr. 8, 1-2 seems frankly incredible. But this is not the end of the matter; for Loenen argues that even if the emendation is rejected we must still understand such a subject, and here he is on stronger ground. An indefinite subject has been claimed for Parmenides by quite a number of scholars and remains the most likely hypothesis. (In a recent discussion G. E. L. Owen in *C.Q.* x [1960], 84-102 argues that we should understand as subject 'what can be talked or thought about'. As against this and all other attempts to understand a definite subject in fr. 2 one consideration seems conclusive: at this early stage of the poem no reader or listener could possibly be expected to understand a definite subject—the material basis in the text for any such understanding is completely lacking; cf. Kirk and Raven, p. 269. We must, then, suppose an indefinite, undefined 'it' as the subject.)

Next Loenen argues that *ἐστιν* must be taken in a strict sense, meaning by this that it involves not merely 'being' but 'necessary being' in the sense both of necessary existence and of necessary immutability and eternity. Fr. 2, 3 *ἡ μὲν*



ὅπως ἔστιν τι then has the meaning 'there exists something which has necessary being' (my wording). This is compared to the *Ens necessarium* of Christian theology and is used to explain the relation between the so-called world of being and the world of the senses. The world of the senses exists but its existence lacks necessity. We thus have no need to follow the interpretation current ever since Aristotle according to which the phenomenal world is mere illusion, and multiplicity and illusion do not exist. The phenomenal world exists for Parmenides and in the Way of Opinion he is attacking those, like Heraclitus, who held that it was the only world. Taking these contentions as assured Loenen proceeds to detailed interpretation, first of the remaining fragments of Parmenides, then to Melissus and Gorgias, and finds that in every case the discussion turns upon the nature of necessary existence, although frequently a great deal of reinterpretation is necessary to arrive at this result.

This is a path which we need not follow here, since all depends upon the original interpretation of Parmenides. The author has the courage to claim that the new interpretation dissolves all difficulties of interpretation in particular passages and makes plain what could not be understood before. In fact difficulties multiply as we proceed, and to the present reviewer they seem soon to constitute an insuperable barrier to further progress along the path indicated. Frequently the only devices which enable the argument to continue are desperate indeed. Only a few of the difficulties can be mentioned here. It follows from this interpretation that the verb 'to be' has different *precise* senses in different places. This is not fatal, although the injection of precision into the situation makes things more difficult than would be the case if Parmenides were vague or confused in his thought—we would expect indicators in the text to show which sense was involved and these are lacking. But Loenen is reduced to maintaining that (1) τὸ μὴ εἶν must be interpreted not as absolute nothingness but in the strict sense, meaning 'that which lacks necessary being'. It thus is equated with the world of change. (2) But the world of change can be known, and Parmenides says that τὸ μὴ εἶν cannot be thought, etc. So we are driven to confine νοεῖν and the rest to knowledge of necessary being. (3) Fr. 16 cannot then belong to the Way of Opinion. We must therefore place fr. 16 immediately after fr. 3. (4) While τὸ μὴ εἶν means 'that which does not possess necessary being', τὸ εἶν cannot mean 'that which has necessary being', because it is applied to that in which thought is expressed, fr. 8. 35–36. Thought itself, on Loenen's view, does possess necessary existence, fr. 3, but it is unacceptable that that in which thought is expressed should be another reality possessing necessary existence in addition to thought. Suppose then that τὸ εἶν is not the opposite of τὸ μὴ εἶν but means 'the idea of being'. (5) μηδὲν in fr. 6. 2 does not mean 'nothing', but the same as τὸ μὴ εἶν, namely 'that which lacks necessary being'. The meaning then of μηδὲν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν is 'the world of change lacks necessary being'. (6) It is felt necessary to posit a very large lacuna between frs. 2 and 6 where Parmenides argued that thought possessed necessary being. (7) In reinterpreting Gorgias it is necessary to use mainly Sextus since MXG does not fit the hypothesis so well.

## THE GORGIAS

E. R. DODDS: Plato, *Gorgias*. A revised text with introduction and commentary. Pp. vi + 406. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. Cloth, 45s. net. As was to be expected, this is an excellent edition—thorough, yet lucid and concise.

About half the introduction is devoted to the evidence for the text, which badly needed re-examination. Professor Dodds has re-collated F (Vind. suppl. gr. 39, *not* suppl. phil. gr.), as well as W, for the *Gorgias*, and gives reasons for believing that F results from the transliteration, in the late thirteenth century, of an uncial papyrus codex of the kind manufactured in quantity in and after the third century A.D. Often F alone is obviously right, but an editor's difficulty is 'whether to accept or reject the numerous more or less indifferent variants which F offers'. Some of these are shown to be old by their appearance in papyri or 'the indirect tradition'. But to say, for example, that λαβεῖν at 448 a 5 and μοι at 482 c 4 are 'confirmed' by Olympiodorus is perhaps misleading, for (a) 'the indirect tradition' is a misnomer, since there are serious differences (in the *Republic* at least) between the readings of our testimonia (Stuart Jones, *C.R.* xvi [1902], 389); (b) 'it is pedigree, and not age, that counts' (Adam, *C.R.* xvi [1902], 217), and though F differs from each of our testimonia more often than it agrees (Stuart Jones, loc. cit., p. 390), it seems to be of a relatively 'popular' character; and (c) even when F is supported by papyri or testimonia, it can be wrong (e.g. 507 e 4, 508 c 7). Hence Dodds is probably right, when in doubt, to follow BTW. Dodds also argues cogently that the importance of the Flor-V-J group has been overrated by Theiler, and that of Y by the Budé editors. But there seems to be a contradiction regarding the scholia vetera in B: on p. 36 these are said to be 'written in an early hand, which could be that of Arethas himself in later life', but on p. 60, while the Arethae scholia are said to have been entered in B 'by the hand of Arethas', we are told that 'the other and larger set [presumably the scholia vetera] were subsequently added to B by another hand'. (On p. 39 there is reference to 'those [?] scholia or 'old' scholia] of T and B<sup>2</sup>': on p. 36 B<sup>2</sup> was apparently Arethas.) Dodds is the first editor to utilize all four *Gorgias* papyri.

There is naturally not much scope for novel emendation, but Dodds's προσφέρει <ῆ> ἃ προσφέρει at 465 a 4 and his insertion of ῆ at 465 b 3 and of ὃν at 517 e 2 are attractive, and he is almost certainly right in deleting περὶ σώματος πραγματεῖαν at 518 a 3, and attributing Οἰεσθαί γε χρή to Socrates (without transposing these words) at 522 a 9. At 491 a 4 I am far from convinced that he is right to insert an extra τίνων (making two questions instead of one), for to understand ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος out of the preceding ὡς περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ὄντα τὸν λόγον seems decidedly awkward; and the περὶ τίνων of the manuscripts (to be taken with πλεον ἔχειν) is better than τίνων alone, which might at first sight look like a genitive of comparison to be taken with one or other of the comparatives that follow. And at 493 b 2 I am not convinced that αὐτοῦ cannot refer κατὰ σύνεσιν to ψυχῆς. In his note on 451 b 3, Dodds says that arithmetic is 'one of the arts which deal with the even and the odd', and that its differentia is that 'it deals with the even and the odd *irrespective of quantity* ("whatever number there may be of each")', and he suspects a lacuna because the differentia appears to be included in the genus. But the *whole* expression

τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄρτιόν . . . τυγχάνη ὄντα may be taken as describing the genus, for ὅσα ἂν κτλ. seems naturally to mean not 'irrespective of quantity' but 'all the odd and even numbers that there are'. (γνώσις is probably a gloss intended to suggest that the genus is the art of recognizing how many odd and even numbers there are.) Within this class is λογιστική, which is concerned with the relations between numbers, and ἀριθμητική, which (by implication) is not.

In his apparatus criticus Dodds attributes τήχη at 511 e 1 and the excising of πάμπολυ . . . εὐεργεσίας to the corrector of Par (Par<sup>2</sup>). Despite the pale ink (for which cf. ἐπράξατο in the previous line of the manuscript, in the same hand as ἐπράξατο a few lines below), I believe this to be due to the bolder hand of the original scribe.

Dodds well discusses the interlacing of the two themes, ῥητορικὴ and εὐδαιμονία, and in a section on 'Plato and Athens' (I. iv—why not immediately after I. i ?) shows that the *Gorgias* was Plato's *apologia pro vita sua*. In an appendix comparing Nietzsche's doctrines with those of Callicles he remarks that the control of propaganda in a democracy and the re-establishment of moral standards are still central problems in the twentieth century. Dodds places the *Gorgias* after Plato's visit to Sicily, before the *Meno*: the *Menexenus*, he suggests, was designed as an afterpiece to the *Gorgias*, which may therefore be dated about 387–385. I query only details. (i) Is the use of *πλοῦς* rather than *δόξα* evidence for the priority of *Gorgias* to *Meno* (p. 23)? *πλοῦς* could be used simply because of Gorgias' belief in *πειθώ*: and cf. *Tim.* 29 c 3, where *πλοῦς* reappears. Isocrates *contra soph.* 8 seems to imply that the *δόξα-ἐπιστήμη* contrast was stressed by Socrates as early as about 390 B.C. (cf. Dodds himself, p. 27). (ii) The *σοφός* from whom Socrates professes to have 'heard' about the sieve and leaky jar (492 d 1–493 d 4), though admirably discussed on pp. 297–8, is in the introduction metamorphosed without comment into 'an anonymous Pythagorean text' (pp. 26–27). Plato might have been orally informed. (iii) Should we assume that the Socrates of the *Protagoras* 'can prove' that 'virtue is knowledge' only on a hedonist assumption' (p. 21, italics mine)? (iv) I would hesitate to describe Socrates' language about Athenian statesmen in the *Meno* even as 'more tactful' (p. 29) than that of the *Gorgias*. Even Anytus sees that there is irony (though he may not fully understand it): hence his complaint that Socrates vilifies eminent men (94 e). Socrates' remarks, like the laudatory references in the *Menexenus*, are sheer mockery.

In discussing the characters, Dodds suggests that Gorgias was not a sophist (in the narrow sense) and not seriously interested in philosophy. But (i) Callicles does not say, in Gorgias' presence, 'that sophists are "worthless people" (520 a 1)', only that those who profess to teach *ἀρετή* are—and Gorgias himself ridiculed them. (ii) Asked at *Meno* 93 c whether he thinks that the *sophists* teach *ἀρετή*, Meno replies that Gorgias does not claim to do so; in fact, Gorgias ridicules 'the others' for making such a claim. (iii) What is the *σοφία* which Gorgias is (ironically) alleged to have imparted to the Thessalians, and of which there is such a dearth at Athens that no one could say whether *ἀρετή* is teachable (*Meno* 70 b–71 a)? (iv) Presumably the questions that Gorgias offered to answer (447 c, *Meno* 70 c) were not limited to the subject of rhetoric. (v) *Meno* 76 c (on Empedoclean 'pores'), the 'proof' about 'what-is-not' (even if only a joke), and the treatment of causation in his *Helen* suggest that Gorgias at least talked about matters that concerned sophists.

Interesting notes include those at 455 e 6 (on the Athenian 'middle' wall),



470 c 9-471 d 2 (on Archelaus), 511 e 1 (on the purchasing power of the drachma), 525 b 1-526 d 2 (post-mortem punishment as a deterrent implies the doctrine of rebirth). At 474 c 4-476 a 2 (doing wrong is less *ωφέλιμον* and therefore worse than suffering it) Dodds points out a fallacy: *ωφέλιμον* can mean useful for the community, or useful for the agent. But perhaps Socrates is simply denying the ultimate validity of such a distinction, just as in playing on *εὖ πράττειν* in a 'proof' at 507 a 4-c 7 he may intend to suggest that the two senses ('fare well' and 'do good') amount to much the same thing. Cf. 476 a-477 a (it is *ωφέλιμον* and *ἀγαθόν* for a man to be justly punished) and *Meno* 77 b f. (no one desires *κακά* [harmful even to the doer]). At 492 d 1-493 d 4 Dodds is probably right in regarding the *σοφός* from whom Socrates professes to have heard the Myth of the Water-carriers as a Pythagorean, but I doubt whether the *σοφοί* of *Meno* 81 a should be identified 'with confidence' as Pythagoreans and used as an analogy; and Plato can use *σοφοί* in allusion to others (cf. *Symp.* 185 c). In a valuable discussion of the Myth of Judgement (523 a f.), Dodds finds that some elements are probably Pythagorean, some traditional, but much is Plato's invention. Certainly Plato is not 'simply reproducing an Orphic *κατάβασις*'. But why should the doctrine of Purgatory be 'a Pythagorean invention' just because the Greek Purgatory prepared its victims for a return to earth (p. 375)? We cannot assume that Pythagoreans monopolized belief in reincarnation.

Misprints: p. 101 line 1 read *αὐτῷ*, line 4 *ἐστίν*, p. 243 last line 'personal', p. 303 line 33 '485 e 3'. P. 362 penultimate line add a comma after the bracket; delete comma p. 49 line 10.

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## PLATO AS AN HISTORIAN

RAYMOND WEIL: *L' 'Archéologie' de Platon*. (Études et Commentaires, xxxii.) Pp. 171. Paris: Klincksieck, 1959. Paper, 18 fr.

THIS is a study of Plato's version of the history of Greece from early times presented in *Laus* iii and iv. 706 a-707 d. It is in the form of a detailed commentary on the text, preceded by an introduction of some fifty pages. There is a bibliography and a table of contents but no index. The author is not concerned with Plato's concept of history as such, nor with Plato as an historian of philosophy, but only with Plato as an historian of Greece, and the commentary aims at combining a philosophical with an historical and philological approach.

References to historical events are reasonably frequent throughout the dialogues and a number of the myths are cast in pseudo-historical form. In fact, as Weil points out, Plato shows himself very well acquainted with the methods of historical criticism and he is always ready to use or parody them as suits his purpose. None the less, although he won the approval of Polybius, he is usually regarded as a bad historian, and this primarily for two reasons—the truth he is seeking is philosophic truth and not the truth of historical occurrence in time, and, perhaps in consequence, he seems incurably frivolous in his treatment of historical events, ever ready to mix fiction with truth and to manipulate the record to suit his purpose. Weil would not dissent from this judgement, but he claims that the importance of history increased in Plato's eyes as he grew



older and that by the time he wrote *Laws* iii he was writing serious history—'fantastique encore dans le *Critias* et le *Timée*, l'histoire dans les *Lois* s'écarte soudain de la légende' (p. 33). This is a difficult thesis to maintain when we reflect upon the fact that the history of *Laws* iii diverges so often from the versions found in other writers and does so always in favour of a schematization which obviously supports the moral and philosophic conclusions at which Plato is aiming. Weil admits that much of the historical narrative of the *Laws*, like the myths of other dialogues, is 'un jeu', but this time it is distinguishable as being 'un jeu sérieux'. Plato, we are told (p. 52), draws lessons from the past because perhaps he has himself first of all introduced them into the past. But this is because logically, according to him, these lessons were bound to be found there. This is the climax of the argument and its very ambiguity suggests the difficulty in which the author finds himself. The only difference between the history of the *Laws* and the pseudo-historical sketches in other dialogues is that in the *Laws* Plato hangs his web upon more pegs than is usual elsewhere, the pegs being well-known historical events. But the web, one suspects, is spun of the same material and in exactly the same way as before.

The purpose of the commentary is said to be to determine the elements in the story common to other sources and so to discover the elements for which Plato was personally responsible. Much useful information is collected and we are given clear guidance as to where Plato agrees and where he disagrees with other extant sources. But where Plato has a unique version we are unfortunately usually reduced to conjecture. Did he take his information from a reliable source since lost, e.g. the story that the Spartans were late at Marathon because of a Messenian War? In this case what Plato says might in fact be the true version. Or did Plato simply not bother to try to get it right, or worse, rewrite the tradition to fit in with his philosophic scheme? Most often we suspect the second, but we cannot prove it. Thus the declared purpose of the commentary is not achieved and could not be achieved in the present state of our information.

In conclusion I mention a few points of detail: 676 c 2 is taken to show a more historical approach than *Republic* viii–ix with its *a priori* order of evolution for constitutions. But the subject of the sentence is the *πόλεις* previously mentioned, and the meaning is that all cities go through all stages. The next sentence shows that what is sought is one cause which will explain the evolution of all states—so England on 676 c 6. 682 c *καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ Ἴωνες* does not refer to the Achaeans but to other possible attackers of Troy, so that there is no difficulty about the *Ἴωνες*. 682 c: despite Weil, it is probably preferable to take *πάντων* with *ἐκπεσόντων* as England. Plato speaks as if the veterans returned from Troy formed at least part and perhaps all of those subsequently exiled who became the Dorians. He does this, no doubt deliberately, because he is attempting to trace a single line of development in human societies, and this would have been spoiled by the intrusion of the Dorians as a separate race. It is because of this idiosyncratic explanation, one would suppose, that Plato needed Doriens to convert his Achaeans into Dorians. It is more likely that he invented Doriens for this purpose than that he took him from some otherwise unknown tradition. There should be no question here of 'une véritable intuition d'historien'.

## PLATO'S EARLY DIALOGUES

ROBERT BÖHME: *Von Sokrates zur Ideenlehre. Beobachtungen zur Chronologie des platonischen Frühwerks*. (Dissertationes Bernenses, Ser. i, fasc. 9.) Pp. 159. Bern: Francke, 1959. Stiff paper, 18.50 Sw. fr.

THE author of this work is already known for two adventurous and highly speculative books, one maintaining the historical existence of Orpheus (*Orpheus, Das Alter des Kitharoden*, 1953, on which see C.R. v [1955], 29-31), and the other maintaining the view that the *Oresteia* as we have it dates from the last years of the Peloponnesian war (*Bühnenbearbeitung äschyleischer Tragödien*, 2 vols, 1956-9). The present study is no less radical in its approach. Originally completed in 1940, it was accepted for publication as a *Hermes Einzelschrift* when the war intervened and the manuscript was lost. A second version was ready in 1951, but publication was delayed and it was revised again in 1956. It claims to establish beyond doubt the order of composition of the main dialogues from Plato's earlier period.

First the conclusions. It is known that certain of the later dialogues were intended to be read in a certain order—thus the *Sophist* follows on after the *Theaetetus*, which in turn follows on after the *Parmenides*, and it is conceivable that a similar ordering applies to other dialogues in the later period. Böhme argues that the earlier dialogues were written to be read in the same way. He distinguishes two great trilogies or dialogue-cycles: (1) that consisting of the *Gorgias*, *Apology*, and *Crito*, with a doubt admitted as to whether the *Apology* might not precede the *Gorgias*, but no doubt that the *Crito* is a complement to the *Gorgias*—in fact Böhme holds that the *Gorgias* is the first Socratic dialogue, and should be dated 399-398 B.C., immediately after Socrates' death; (2) the *Protagoras*, *Meno*, and *Phaedo*, with the *Laches* as a sort of prelude or first piece to the resulting tetralogy. While no precise date is offered, the *Protagoras*-cycle is regarded as coming late in the early period, and thus at least after 387 B.C. The minor dialogues are not discussed in detail, and the possibility is envisaged that some of them might be *parerga* written during the period of composition of the two main cycles. But on the whole the view is preferred that most of them come in the period between the two cycles. The cycles at least were part of a conscious plan in Plato's mind, regarded as sketched out in retrospect in the Seventh Letter (324 a-326 e). The first cycle was concerned with establishing the superiority of the philosophic life over the non-philosophic, and the second with the teachability of virtue and the path to the philosophic life. The cycles represent both the order in which Plato intended the dialogues to be read and the order of composition. The possibility that these two orders might not coincide is nowhere considered.

So much for conclusions. How is this elaborate reconstruction supported? The answer is, by a series of unproved and untenable assumptions, which enable the argument to proceed step by step with a spurious air of scholarly and scientific demonstration. The first step is to show that the *Crito* presupposes the *Gorgias*, to which it is a sequel, and to which it refers, *beyond doubt* (my italics) in 48 b 1-10. (In fact this passage refers neither to a Platonic dialogue nor to any other written work, but to Socrates' well-known beliefs and manner of expressing them, as the imperfect *deyov* shows clearly enough.) All that is actually shown is that the *Crito* mentions some of the ideas and topics which

appear in the *Gorgias*, and in similar language. But beyond this it is not possible to go except on the absurd assumption that there was no discussion of these questions in Athens apart from what appears in the dialogues of Plato. The next step is to show that the *Meno* refers directly to and follows on from the *Protagoras*. This is done by arguing in the same way as for the *Crito*—the *Meno* presupposes previous discussions. Therefore it refers to another dialogue or dialogues of Plato. The other dialogue in question, in virtue of subject-matter and content, is clearly the *Protagoras*. The relationship between the two dialogues is then examined in detail and it is argued in a series of numbered points that the same questions are taken up in both and treated partly from the same point of view and partly from a different point of view. But these establish nothing about the order of composition, except on the untenable assumption mentioned above.

Once these key relationships are established the rest is easy, because it is now possible openly to assume what was only covertly assumed before, namely that Plato was writing cycles. Thus the *Protagoras* and *Meno* are too closely related for the *Gorgias* to come in between, so the *Gorgias* must be before the *Protagoras*, as the *Meno* is followed by the *Phaedo*. Moreover, the *Gorgias* must be an early dialogue as it comes before the *Crito*, which must be before 395 B.C. on internal evidence. (For an excellent summary of the view that the *Gorgias* is not a very early dialogue see now Dodds's *Gorgias*, Introd. pp. 18–30.) All these relationships are pursued in great detail, but the result is worth very little because the basis is unsound.

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### ARISTOTLE: *TOPICA* AND *SOPHISTICI ELENCHI*

W. D. Ross: *Aristotelis Topica et Sophistici Elenchi*. (Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.) Pp. viii + 260. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. Cloth, 25s. net.

SIR DAVID ROSS has increased our debt to him by adding yet another instalment of Aristotle to the Oxford Classical Texts. This latest volume may have a rather limited appeal, but nevertheless it is extremely welcome.

In his succinct discussion of the manuscripts Ross agrees with Wallies that A and B represent one distinct family, but differs from him—and from other editors—in giving them roughly equal authority. The rest of Waitz's manuscripts (except the *recentiores* NPi<sup>q</sup>, which occupy an intermediate position) form a second family. Ross does not positively divide this, but in practice he treats the oldest members Ccu (with the *recentiores* Tfo) as one group, the other group consisting of D and the text implied by the Latin version of Boethius, to which he attaches the symbol A. The 'mystery' of D (wrongly described by Bekker as Parisinus Coislinianus 170) has, we are told, been solved by Saffrey's discovery that the readings attributed by Bekker to D belong to Parisinus Bibl. Nat. 1843. This identification has enabled Ross to collate D properly and to show (with the aid of Minio-Paluello's improved text of Boethius) that in *Topics* D agrees with A in 104 of the 120 places where the latter disagrees with B; from which he concludes that in *Topics* at least (the case of *Soph. Elench.* is not so clear) D represents with reasonable accuracy a witness earlier than Boethius.



If this claim be allowed—and it is difficult to resist it—D assumes major importance, and the primacy of the first family is seriously challenged. Thus it is not surprising that of the 140-odd new manuscript readings adopted more than two-thirds are derived from one or more members of the second family. Some are manifest improvements; a few are unconvincing; of most it may fairly be said that the probabilities are nicely balanced.

More interesting are Ross's own emendations—37 in *Topics*, 54 in *Soph. Elench.* Many of these will certainly be accepted. Among the most convincing are 133<sup>a</sup>16 τοῦ . . . τὸ for τὸ . . . τοῦ, 139<sup>a</sup>11 μὴ for οὐ, 146<sup>b</sup>20 τὸ for τοῦ, 154<sup>b</sup>1 κατηγορεῖται added, 170<sup>a</sup>38 εἰ τε . . . εἰ τ' for εἴτε . . . εἴτ', 172<sup>b</sup>19 ἀγει for ἀγειν, 178<sup>b</sup>33 οὐδὲ τὸ, 182<sup>b</sup>20 καταναμμένον. Some of the others seem unnecessary. How far an Aristotelian text should be purged of seeming imperfections by emendation will always be debatable, since so much depends upon the view that you take of the autograph; but nobody will deny that Ross has tidied up a great many irregularities—above all the fairly frequent confusion of ὅτι and διότι—and has often improved or at least clarified the sense.

There are a good many minor errors or misprints, and a few which call for mention, since they may puzzle or mislead. 103<sup>b</sup>7 for τὶ read τὸ; 106<sup>a</sup>3 for ἐλόγους read λόγους; 106<sup>a</sup>7 (app. crit.) for Γ read Δ; 106<sup>a</sup>8 ἐπὶ omitted before τῶν ἄλλων; 110<sup>a</sup>6 (app. crit.) citations transposed; 110<sup>a</sup>29 πρὸς τὸ appears in the text without explanation; 117<sup>a</sup>13 τὸ omitted before πολὺ; 118<sup>a</sup>27 αὐτὸ omitted before εἶδος; 122<sup>a</sup>36 τοῦτο omitted after αὐτὸ; 123<sup>b</sup>28 (app. crit.) C appears twice; 139<sup>a</sup>9 (app. crit.) add ὑπερβολῇ A<sup>2</sup>BCu; 139<sup>a</sup>38 delete colon after ἐκεῖ; 146<sup>a</sup>6 manuscript authority for ἦ after γὰρ not cited; 180<sup>a</sup>18 οὐ bracketed without comment; 180<sup>b</sup>7 αὐτὸν (transferred here by Wallies from <sup>b</sup>5) appears without comment. I cannot find authority for the form προσκελθωσαν (so also Wallies) at 102<sup>b</sup>14.

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## ARISTOTELIAN LOGIC

GÜNTHER PATZIG: *Die aristotelische Syllogistik*. (Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, Nr. 42.) Pp. 207. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959. Paper, DM. 19.80.

FOLLOWING in the path of predecessors who, in broad outline, have interpreted Aristotle in the light of modern mathematical logic, Mr. Patzig in this admirably written work comes to close quarters with the text of the *Prior Analytics* and puts forward an original solution to various problems which arise from Aristotle's terminology, and have never yet been satisfactorily solved. His study covers the following five *Hauptfragen*: (1) What is an Aristotelian inference? (i.e. in what form does Aristotle, as distinct from the traditional logic, express an inference?) (2) How does Aristotle understand necessity in logic? (3) The meaning of 'perfect syllogism'. (4) The definition of the figures of the syllogism, and the procedure employed by Aristotle in distinguishing the two 'extreme' terms as major and minor. (5) His procedure in reducing imperfect syllogisms to those of the first figure. In conclusion, some views are advanced concerning the general nature of Aristotle's inquiry in the *Prior Analytics*.

Patzig points out that Łukasiewicz was mainly concerned to estimate Aristotle's achievement in logic by reference to the fully developed system of



modern logic. This has been fruitful, and has stimulated discussion, but 'if an ancient text is treated merely as a stage of progress towards something that came later, one can hardly do justice to this text and its author'; and subsequent criticism of Łukasiewicz, when not based on ignorance of, or distaste for, mathematical logic, has pointed in this direction. It is therefore desirable to consider the text in a more historical manner and allow Aristotle to formulate the problems in his own terms. One can rely to a great extent upon the classical commentators for an understanding of what may be termed the Aristotelian factor in Aristotelian logic, while turning to the modern logician for its logical component. The nineteenth-century expositors, especially in Germany, were led seriously astray by the belief that Aristotle's logic is integrally connected with his metaphysics, a belief as false as it was deeply rooted.

The traditional type of syllogism 'all men are mortal: Socrates is a man: therefore he is mortal' is not found in Aristotle, and differs widely from his normal mode of presenting this syllogism: 'if B belongs to all A, and C belongs to all B, C belongs to all A.' This, firstly, does not assert the truth of either, or both, of the premisses, but the necessity of proceeding from them to the conclusion; secondly, does not employ concrete terms, but symbols, which in Aristotle hardly ever stand for particulars, such as Socrates; and thirdly puts the predicate *before* the subject, the expression *ὑπάρχει*, which was not taken from every-day usage, being—it seems—deliberately designed for this purpose. In all this, Patzig conducts us over ground made familiar by Łukasiewicz.

The idea of *necessity* makes its appearance in formal logic at two points. In a valid syllogism, the conclusion follows necessarily if the premisses are asserted. Side by side with this is the necessity whereby in certain cases a predicate is declared to qualify a subject, e.g. 'every horse is necessarily an animal'. It is convenient to describe the former necessity as relative, the latter as absolute. It is an old problem whether these two necessities are of the same order. According to Patzig Aristotle has employed distinct expressions in all cases where it is important to keep the kinds of necessity apart, *ἀνάγκη ὑπάρχειν* for relative and *ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχει* for absolute necessity. Though this is laudable, his formulation of the difference is not free from objection. The truth is that there are not really two kinds of necessity, either of which might be found according to circumstances in the same proposition, as some of Aristotle's expressions suggest; but one kind, which is found in two different types of universal proposition: a proposition about predicates, or concepts, and one about individuals.

The discussion of the perfect syllogism leads to an interesting inquiry, of which the chief points are brought out in this passage of summary: 'The distinction made by Aristotle between perfect and imperfect inferences has regard to the clarity (Gr. *φανερὸν*, *φανήναι*) of these syllogisms. One can show that the distinction is fully intelligible on the basis of Aristotle's own mode of expression, "A belongs to all B", though to some extent the division of syllogisms in respect of clarity is arbitrary where modal logic is concerned. The clarity of the first-figure inferences is preserved also in the traditional formulation with the copula, provided the order of the premisses is changed, as is logically admissible. Since instead of doing this the tradition clung to the Aristotelian order of premisses, the meaning of the clarity which Aristotle, with good ground, ascribed to syllogisms in the first figure, and therewith the distinction between perfect and imperfect inferences, became obscured. The Aristotelian distinction was sometimes misunderstood in antiquity, perhaps already by disciples of the

first generation, especially in the sense that it was supposed that Aristotle did not recognize the imperfect inferences as logically valid propositions.' Boethius in one respect shows a glimpse of a better understanding than the other commentators.

Having given this sample of the inquiry, I must pass over what is said of the definition of the second and third figures and of their reduction to the first. In dealing lastly with the question, 'what is the syllogistic system?' Patzig points out that Aristotle never raised this question for himself: his reserve and deliberate vagueness in terminology indicate that he preferred to avoid it. From the modern point of view the system appears as a theoretical study of inference, especially of the 'products' of two-term relations. If it is objected that so narrow a delimitation makes the wide influence of Aristotle's work inexplicable, the reply is given (1) that a theoretical inquiry, though specialized, may have great importance; (2) that Aristotle accomplished his self-imposed task in such an exemplary fashion that his 'syllogistic' was with reason treated as a norm of logical investigation. We must turn our backs firmly on the view that the 'syllogistic' is philosophical in the sense that certain philosophical insight is requisite for its appreciation, or that it embodies propositions, the truth of which depends upon theses of ontology or metaphysics. Many nineteenth-century writers took this line, in the process of acquitting Aristotle of responsibility for the 'sterile subtleties' of the traditional logical exercises. It was the worst conceivable defence of his formal logic, which, had the defence been true, would now be an historical curiosity.

The work certainly seems to comprise some valid criticism of Aristotelian expositors of all periods, and to bring, on the basis of modern logic, fresh insight into Aristotle's original purpose; and it is written with remarkable clarity. Much is, however, said, which must await the judgement of more competent logicians than the present reviewer. He feels bound to express a doubt whether Aristotle's syllogistic, or the *Organon* in general, can have been quite independent of his ontology. No doubt it gives satisfaction to the formalist to find that Aristotle keeps the stream pure, and that commentators who, in attempting to understand his terminology, have brought in psychology or metaphysics, have obviously gone astray. On the other hand, to say that Aristotle left the 'syllogistic' wholly unrelated to that part of his philosophy in which his basic principles are laid down is, surely, to charge him with a certain frivolity. And, on what grounds does Aristotle, if he is *not* moved by extra-logical considerations, tell us in the *Analytics* that the proposition 'this white thing is Socrates' unnaturally inverts the subject and predicate?

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## POSIDONIUS

GEORG PFLIGERSDORFFER: *Studien zu Poseidonios*. (Sitz. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 232. 5.) Pp. 151. Vienna: Rohrer, 1959. Paper, 6S. 70.

THIS book is full of learning and of acute and subtle argument, but it is not easy either to read or to summarize. In so far as it has a unifying theme, that is to be found in Posidonius' views of how the world and civilization originated. What will here be of the widest interest is the treatment (pp. 100-46) of the

notorious problem of Diodorus Siculus i. 7-8. This passage has variously been regarded as derived from Epicurus, from Democritus through Hecataeus, from an unknown pre-Socratic through Hecataeus, or as an uncoordinated piece of eclecticism. Dr. Pfligersdorffer assumes, rightly in view of the independent parallels in John Catrares and Tzetzes (the latter of which might have received more attention), that Diodorus followed, or rather selected points from, some single source; the view that fire and air move upwards to their 'natural' places ('because of their lightness' is what Diodorus actually says), water and earth downwards, shows this source to be Peripatetic or Stoic; therefore Posidonius, whom Diodorus undoubtedly used elsewhere, is a possible candidate to be that source. The difficulty in turning the possibility into something more is to find in Diodorus doctrines which are not merely consistent with what is known of Posidonius—that is easy—but also peculiar to him. So far as we find in Diodorus elements that are drawn from Empedocles, Democritus, or Plato, we can say that it is characteristic of Posidonius to adapt earlier thinkers. (To my mind Pfligersdorffer over-estimates Empedoclean influence, but that does not invalidate his argument, and gives him an opportunity for observations which students of Empedocles should not overlook.) When it comes to finding peculiarly Posidonian elements the clearest arguments are drawn from the form taken by (1) the view that the habitat of different groups of animals depends on the *κρᾶσις* of elements in them, (2) the view that necessity stimulated early man's invention. In the author's opinion it is distinctive of Posidonius that birds fly upwards because of their heat rather than live in the air because they are predominantly composed of air; it is distinctive too that only through the promptings of necessity can man develop his reason and higher functions, so that it accords with a teleological universe that his early state was one of destitute savagery. I am not sure that this latter point must be read into Diodorus' jejune remarks, but it can be. It is unfortunate that he shows no sign of the best-attested feature of Posidonius' history of civilization, namely that early technical progress was due to philosophers. 'Wir vermissen die *sapientes* . . . nicht sonderlich', but how much more satisfaction we should have felt if they had been there!

Another passage for which Pfligersdorffer claims an ultimately Posidonian origin is Firmicus Maternus *Math.* iii. 1. 11-14, although he would leave it uncertain whether Posidonius himself related the stages of civilization to the conjunction of the moon with the various planets. Perhaps owing to lack of attentiveness or of penetration I am not clear how Pfligersdorffer would reconcile a protracted development from primitive savagery to the Golden Age of the wise with his belief that Sextus Emp. *adv. M.* ix. 28 comes from Posidonius. There it is said that *τοὺς πρώτους καὶ γηγενεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων* had greater understanding of the divine nature. But Pfligersdorffer, who associates this with a greater power of the sun in those early days, light strengthening the *logos* in man, argues with plausibility that appreciation of divine order in the world and moral improvement go hand in hand; he interprets Posidonius' formulation of man's end in life as *ζῆν θεωροῦντα τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀλήθειαν καὶ τάξιν καὶ συγκατασκευάζοντα αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν κατὰ μηδὲν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλόγου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς* in the sense that our share in bringing about this order is to overcome the irrational in us.

I can do no more than call attention to three passages that seem to me to be of importance—the attempt (49 ff.) to supplement Reinhardt's account



of the Posidonian theory of vision, by adding in the case of human beings a *συνφύλα* of internal light from the eye and external light from the sun; the discussion of *μavρυκή* (69 ff.) with its refusal to follow Reinhardt in assigning Cicero, *Div. i.* 109-16 to Cratippus not Posidonius; and the examination (7 ff.) of the legend that Saturn introduced civilization.

Editors of Sallust may be even less likely to read this review than the book reviewed, but on the chance of catching some eye I repeat from p. 102 an unpublished conjecture of von Hartel on *Jug.* 41. 10, viz. *permixtio naturae* for *permixtione terrae*.

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## LATER GREEK GEOMETRY

G. L. HUXLEY: *Anthemius of Tralles. A Study in Later Greek Geometry.* (Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies.) Pp. 62. Cambridge, Mass.: privately printed, 1959. Paper.

KNOWN to all through the pages of Procopius as the architect for the rebuilding of St. Sophia at Constantinople, Anthemius of Tralles (ob. A.D. 534) has several claims on the historian of mathematics. It was to him that Eutocius dedicated his commentaries on the first four books of the *Conics* of Apollonius, and his work on burning mirrors (*Περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων*) is a document of importance in the study of the conic sections. In it for the first time in any surviving literature use is made of the directrix of a parabola; and although it is not named, it is used in such a manner as clearly to indicate that Anthemius was familiar with the focus-directrix property of a conic. (The locus of a point whose distance from a fixed point bears a constant relation to its perpendicular distance from a fixed straight line is a conic section, which is a hyperbola, parabola, or ellipse according as that ratio is greater than, equal to, or less than unity.) There is no mention of this property, nor indeed of the focus of a parabola, in the great treatise of Apollonius, who generated the curves in a quite different way. Anthemius shows with great mastery of his subject how a parabola can be constructed from its tangents. He is the first person known to have shown how an ellipse can be constructed by drawing a closed string tightly round two fixed points, though this is implicit in Apollonius.

Huxley has therefore chosen a not unworthy subject for the first of a series of monographs to be issued as supplements to *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*. All the manuscripts of the *Περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων* derive from Codex Vaticanus Gr. 218 written in the twelfth century. (So Heiberg, and not the eleventh as Huxley says.) This was not used by L. Dupuy in his first edition printed in 1777, but his helper, de la Porte du Theil, consulted it for the second edition in 1786. A. Westermann included the work in his *Paradoxographi* in 1839 and J. L. Heiberg printed a definitive text in 1927. This has been reproduced without change by Huxley, who gives a translation and running commentary. Both translation and commentary are adequate, though 'bisecting the angle  $EZA$ ' is 'bisecting the angle  $EBI$ ' in the text, and a reader may wonder why Huxley makes heavy weather of 'the vertical [*κατὰ κορυφήν*] angle  $\theta ZB$ ' instead of giving the standard rendering 'vertically opposite angle'.

No study of Anthemius could be complete without the *fragmentum mathe-*



*maticum Bobiense*, which Huxley also reproduces textually from Heiberg and translates with notes. T. L. Heath took the view that this fragment must be anterior to Diocles because the author uses the early terms 'section of a right-angled cone' for 'parabola' and 'diameter' for 'axis'. Huxley is not convinced, and supports with good arguments the view of Heiberg that it comes from the hand of Anthemius and is, indeed, part of the *Περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων*.

Huxley supplements his translation and notes with a brief account of Anthemius and his contemporaries and a list of previous editions and studies of Anthemius and of the *fragmentum Bobiense*. He summarizes Dupuy's account of the manuscripts of the *Περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων* (only the *Codex Ambrosianus* L 99 preserves the *fragmentum*), and he shows that Tzetzes in his panegyric of Archimedes drew heavily upon Anthemius. It is also probable, as Huxley shows, that Vitello, the thirteenth-century Thuringian author of a *Perspectiva*, had read Anthemius in the original.

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## STUDIES IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM

*Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik* (Günther Jachmann zur fünfzigsten Wiederkehr seiner Promotion gewidmet). Herausgegeben von HELFRIED DAHLMANN und REINHOLD MERKELBACH. Pp. 307. Opladen (Rheinland): Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959. Cloth, DM. 39.

THESE studies in textual criticism have an unusual unity of theme in that many of them are directly inspired by Jachmann's special interest in the early history of classical literature. Students of *Der Platontext* will welcome Merkelbach's treatment (pp. 157 ff.) of *PHid.* 206 (c. 280 B.C.), which has room for τῶν καλῶν in Xen. *Mem.* i. 3. 8, though they may not stigmatize τῶν καλῶν as readily as the notorious βᾶδιος of *Phaedo* 81 a 1.

'Publication'. C. F. Russo (pp. 231 ff.) demonstrates that our *Clouds* was intended for the reader, not the theatre. His conclusion seems to me inescapable, though not, perhaps, for his reasons. Certainly 1105 f. 'can be spoken by no one but Socrates' if Socrates is there; if he is not, they can and must be spoken by the Adikos Logos, and 1148 f. are no obstacle as we refer ἐκεῖνον and ὄν to the Logos and translate εἰσήγαγες 'staged'. Hence we cannot say that 889-1112 are written for five actors. Also, if 887 ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόσομαι belongs to *Clouds* i, and the Logoi were substituted in *Clouds* ii for a debate between Chaerephon and Pheidippides, to which version does 886 αὐτὸς μαθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῖν τοῖν λόγοις belong?

S. Prete (pp. 191 ff.) criticizes old theories of the relation between the manuscripts of Ausonius and 'editions' of the poems by the author or soon after his death. Much of his destructive argument is interesting on the general questions of 'private circulation' (pp. 222 ff.) and 'author's variants' (pp. 207 ff.).

*Stemmatics*. P. H. Thomas (pp. 285 ff.) reconstructs from two modern collations the text of a tenth-century Latin manuscript on Alexander, now destroyed, and relates it to two other manuscripts *de morte testamentoque Alexandri Magni*.

*Distribution of lines.* In some of Eduard Fraenkel's conjectures on *Birds* (pp. 8 ff.) a new (or a very old) distribution of lines is defended by abundant parallels from dramatic dialogue. Fraenkel proposes: 305 ff. *ΠΕ.* *ἰὸν ἰὸν τῶν ὀρνέων . . . ἐς σὲ κάμει.* *ΕΥ.* *τοῦτο μὲν κάμοι δοκεῖ* (cf. Musurus); 386 f. *ΠΕ.* *μᾶλλον εἰρήνην ἀγοῦσι.* < *ΕΠ.* > *νῆ Δί', ὥστε κτλ.* < *ΠΕ.* > *καὶ τὸ δόρυ κτλ.* 813 ff. *ΕΥ.* *'Ἡράκλεις . . . πόλει;* < *ΠΕ.* > *οὐδ' ἂν χαμενῆ;* < *ΕΥ.* > *πάνυ γε κτλ.* . . . On 386 f. Blaydes came near to Fraenkel's solution, but had second thoughts.

*Early interpolations.* A. Dihle (pp. 47 ff.) rejects Soph. *El.* 20–22 (20–21 have often been suspected on linguistic grounds) as an interpolation designed to make the dramatic situation clearer. His criticism of οὐκ . . . ἀλλὰ . . . in 22 seems to me far too subtle, but the tautology *καὶρός* . . . ἀκμή is certainly more Isocratean than Sophoclean.

S. Mariotti (pp. 123 ff.) emends Plaut. *Amph.* 632 to *utinam di faxint < ne > infecta dicta re eveniant tua*, 'I hope you'll do what you've promised' (sc. unloading the ship)—a remarkably emotional utterance for such an occasion; *Pseud.* 108 tells against it, not for it. Mariotti takes the whole interpolation to be a preparation for the bringing on of spectacular booty at l. 654, but his evidence for this theatrical practice all relates to Tragedy.

Josef Kroll (pp. 89 ff.) attributes Lucr. i. 50–61 to an interpolator ('bewußte rezensorische Tätigkeit'); he represents the lines as a pastiche of 'interior prooemia' (especially iv. 912 ff.), emphasizing the inappropriateness of *quod superest* (50), the conflict of tone between 50–53 and 140–5, the inadequacy of 54–55 as a 'programme', and oddities (which he exaggerates; cf. Bailey on 58) in the technical terminology of 58–61. The verbosity and repetitiousness of Kroll's essay may obscure the essential simplicity of his solution, by contrast with any one of the sets of hypotheses which seek to explain all that demands explanation in this passage.

*Intrusive glosses.* Merkelbach (p. 175) reduces Aesch. *Ag.* 1584 f. to *πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν ἀμφιλεκτός ὢν κράτει κτλ.* Solmsen (p. 266) suggests that in Pl. *Laus* 891 ε 7 *ψυχὴν* was a gloss on δ . . . αἴτιον ἀπάντων and has displaced, for example, *δόξαν*. Possibly in Petr. 23. 5 *detectum* (*dealbatum* Fuchs, p. 61) is a gloss on *nimbo laborare*.

*Omissions, transpositions, corruptions.* Among the most persuasive of very many conjectures are: Hes. *Th.* 334 f. *ὅς ἐρεμνῆς πείρασι γαίης κείθεσιν ἐν μεγάλῳ* (Merkelbach, p. 167). Aesch. *Ag.* 1056 f. *ἑστίας ἥδη πάρος ἔστηκε μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς μεσομφάλου* (Merkelbach, p. 171). Ibid. 1224 *γύναι λέντος ἐν λέχει στραφόμενον* (Merkelbach, p. 181); in 1940 I noted this in the margin of my text, but the suggestion was not mine. Pl. *Laus* 900 α 4 *αὐτόπτης προσπιυχῆς πολλῶν . . . καὶ δεινῶν γινόμενός τισιν* (Solmsen, pp. 270 f.). Ar. *Av.* 16 ἐκ τῶν ὀργῶν: cf. Ov. *M.* vi. 587 ff. (L. Koenen, pp. 83 f.). Petr. 29. 5 < *sicut* > *levatum cento* (Fuchs, p. 62; *levatum mento* cod.). Anth. Lat. 199. 29 *tua iura* . . . *carina*: cf. Varro, *Men.* 575 b (Mariotti, pp. 139 f.).

B. Marzullo (pp. 133 ff.) treads perilous ground in emending fragments of Cratinus, but the difference between his achievement and the mad butchery to which Comic fragments have sometimes been subjected is heartening. His intimate understanding of the procedures of scholiasts and grammarians stands him in good stead (e.g. on fr. 103, 166, 195, 233). Only in fr. 288 (p. 149) does he make really unjustified assumptions about an unknown context; his fr. 9 *βρίονσ'* (i.e. *βρίονσι*) . . . *πλέω* is not, I think, open to this criticism. *γέντα* is unconvincing in fr. 326, and fr. 238 *βροτοῖσιν* . . . *ἄνδρες* needs no correction on

stylistic grounds, since *ἀνδρες* is an 'empty' word as in, for example, *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο, Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος*.

Merkelbach's transposition (pp. 168 ff.) of Aesch. *Ag.* 933 f. to follow 943 does not account for *ἀν* and spoils by anticipation the point of 963 ff. His suggestion (pp. 176 f.) that in Theocr. 17. 44 *ῥήτιδοι δὲ γοναὶ τέκνα τ' οὐ ποτεοικόντα πατρί* = 'and neither is childbirth easy for her nor do her children resemble their father' is not supported by *A οὔτε B = οὔτε A οὔτε B*.

B. Axelson (pp. 31 ff.) lands a rain of blows on Housman's treatment of Lucan vii. 387 f. His own solution is *quae damna haud expleat aetas (quae damna) > quaedam non > quicquid non*.

Mariotti (pp. 126 ff.) suggests *maximum poetarum < comicorum >* in Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 2. 2, and revives the suggestion that Seneca had in mind Men. fr. 340 K.-Th., already corrupted to *μικρόν τι τοῦ βίου* but acceptable to Seneca in this form if *βίου* was pronounced as a monosyllable. However, the fragment, whether corrupted or not, is irrelevant to Seneca's theme (see Körte-Thierfelder *ad loc.*).

F. Munari (pp. 185 ff.) identifies *Anth. Lat.* 102 as a description of a painting; that being so, I am not satisfied that emendation of ll. 5 f. is needed.

*Reminiscence and imitation.* Wolfgang Schmid (pp. 253 ff.) describes the echoes from Ovid's *Heroides* in the nun's letter to Christ in Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmi.* 8. 3.

W. Theiler (pp. 279 ff.) argues from resemblances between [Theocr.] 27 and a pastourelle of Walter de Châtillon that knowledge of the Theocritean poem may possibly have passed from Constantinople to western Europe through an educated participant in the Second Crusade. If the argument were sustained, reconstruction of the beginning of [Theocr.] 27 might be attempted, but the essential resemblances are less striking than the differences.

Dahlmann (pp. 37 ff.) is much less cautious in reconstructing the argument of Ariston's *Tithonus* from coincidences between Varro's *Tithonus* and Cic. *De Sen.* He might be right in inferring from Sen. 60 *Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse* (sc. *agri colendi studia*) that the relative phrase in Varro 544 b *qua voluptate aevitatis extimam attingit metam* refers to agriculture; but if *sic invitata* in Varro 547 b *sic invitata matura anima corporeum corticem facile relinquit* is really explicable (which I find incredible) by Sen. 71, what has happened in Cicero's argument to the important concept *corporeus cortex*?

Again, Fuchs (pp. 66 f.) uses John of Salisbury's story of the glassmaker to prove a lacuna between *admissus ergo ad Caesarem est cum suo munere* and *deinde fecit repongere Caesarem*, etc., in Petr. 51. 1; here, as elsewhere (e.g. on 2. 2, 41. 9, 48. 1) Fuchs makes Petronius more explicit, perhaps, than he really was.

Equally incautiously, Merkelbach (p. 181) conjectures *ἐγγριζόμενον* for *ἐσθιόμενον* in Longus ii. 7. 7 *ἔρωτος γὰρ οὐδὲν φάρμακον, οὐ πινόμενον, οὐκ ἐσθιόμενον, οὐκ ἐν φθαῖς λαλούμενον* because of its 'Vorbild', Theocr. 11. 1 f. *οὐτ' ἐγγριστον... οὐτ' ἑπίπαστον* (*ἑπίπαστον* v.l.) and at the same time defends Latte's *οὐτε τι πιστόν* by Longus' *οὐ πινόμενον*.

'Conservative' criticism, however, must be given pause by the observation (Merkelbach, pp. 155 f.) that *P.Oxy.* 2379 of *H. Dem.* 402 ff. presents us, in forty-six letters, with two modern conjectures and the justification of another.



## CATULLUS

KENNETH QUINN: *The Catullan Revolution*. Pp. iv+119. Melbourne: University Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1959. Cloth, 27s. 6d. net.

THESE are the three ingredients involved in the re-shaping of tradition that produced the Catullan revolution. Firstly, the poet becomes an independent personality who forces his personality into his poetry. Secondly, the poet abandons the service of the community for a more esoteric, more purely poetic kind of poetry. Thirdly, the unit becomes the short poem, intensely personal and structurally sophisticated' (Quinn, p. 26). Add to this situation the Catullan genius, and the result is the Catullan revolution. The general truth of Quinn's thesis is indisputable; the merit of his book is to present it freshly, with the emphasis on the *poetry*. 'The relevance of background to a poet's work can be exaggerated' are his opening words. His critical gifts emerge with particular force and clarity in the second half of the book. Chapter iv, 'The Characteristics of the New Poetry', makes valuable points about 'poetic language', illustrating them excellently from one of Robert Graves's poems; Chapters v, 'The Catullan Experience', and vi, 'The Beginnings of Modern Lyric', contain a sensitive and enlightening characterization of the phenomenon of 'personal poetry'—a phrase which one tends to use thoughtlessly—and its consequences for the relationship of the poet with his public (cf. p. 88). These three chapters abound in moments of insight and illumination, and their freshness and penetration justify the book.

The first half is considerably less satisfactory. Chapter i, 'Background', is perfunctory and in its over-simplification of a complicated problem contrasts badly with Wheeler's careful discussion. How far is it true or helpful to talk of a 'comic-satiric tradition' (p. 10)? The undoubted fact that comedy and *satura* had something in common will not justify the lumping together of Terence and Lucilius. 'Shapelessness and incoherence of form' (p. 12) may not be predicated even of Plautus. In Chapter ii, 'The Tradition Re-shaped', Quinn's polemic against 'the common view' is not altogether fairly stated. Wheeler is accused (p. 23) of 'an excessively formalistic approach that led [him] . . . to underestimate the gulf separating the early trifles from the front-rank poetry of the school of Catullus' [i.e. of Catullus: we *know* nothing about any other front-rank poets of the school]. Wheeler's words (*Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry*, p. 77) were 'With Catullus and his contemporaries Roman poetry suddenly leaps close to maturity. . . . In the age of Sulla, ca. 80-75 B.C., we have the crudities of Laevius; only twenty to twenty-five years later we have Catullus. . . .' Wheeler's commendably cautious discussion hardly justifies the suggestion that he thought of 'the *poetae novi* as simply [my italics] the culmination of an evolution that began perhaps half a century earlier' (Quinn, *ibid.*). Again, it is not easy to reconcile Havelock's alleged adoption of 'the slogan of the two Catulluses' (Quinn, p. 31) with what Havelock actually wrote at p. 76 of *The Lyric Genius of Catullus*. One may, I think, question the propriety of occupying so much of a small book on Catullus with polemic, sometimes demonstrably unfair, against his critics; this is an aspect of the New Criticism which we could well spare.

Chapter iii, 'Levels of Intent', raises an important point. New critical



jargon, if it is to be 'a serviceable critical tool' (p. 37), should express a notion for which there is at present no received expression (I recur to this below), and must be used carefully and consistently. Quinn's 'levels of intent' seems now (p. 38) to refer to the seriousness with which Catullus intended that his work should be taken, now (p. 32) to the degree of his inspiration. These surely are rather different things. Agreed that he can hardly have intended poem 59 very seriously (pp. 33-34), he may yet have written it in obedience to 'a strongly felt, . . . almost irresistible, impulse to expression' (p. 38). The idea no doubt is helpful, but it needs working out better.

These reflections bring me to two serious faults which pervade the book: a prevailing laxity of thought and expression, and an inexcusably slovenly and at times downright repulsive style. 'Overall' is not such an indispensable part of the critic's vocabulary that it need figure sixteen times (at least) in a short book. What does 'most external and most deliberately poetic' (p. 35) mean? 'Diminution of intellectual snap' (p. 40) is vague as well as unlovely (cf. 'intellectualization' at p. 39); what is wrong with good old words such as 'elegance' and 'wit'? How does one tune one's thinking with a formula (p. 50), and how are lyrical impulses tightened (p. 54)? Structures (p. 58), yes, impulses, no, still less, I should have thought, tones (p. 61). Quinn does not always say what he seems to mean: for I am reluctant to believe that he really thinks that 'Hellenistic poetry introduced the fashion of writing in the first person' (p. 50). Compare the somewhat rash dictum of p. 93 on 'the generality of ancient poetry'.

Finally, a vital point. It should go without saying that a critic can translate his texts accurately. This Quinn does not always do. *ut currat sententia* does not mean 'makes your statement lively'. *Candida puella* does not mean 'fair-haired' (and even if it did, that would not excuse the gloss: 'Into the narrow world of this elegantly worded invitation . . . is suddenly thrust the vision, heavy with overtones, of the radiant beauty of an unknown girl' (pp. 51-52). Chops and tomato sauce! *surgit amari aliquid*: 'bitter torture surges'. *tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima / ait phaselus*: 'this yacht claims you are, and were, her next-of-kin'. It is a pity that the book has so many faults attributable in the main to haste and sheer carelessness, for there is much in it that is admirable. As it is, the verdict is inevitable—*odi et amo*.

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## HORACE

JACQUES PERRET: *Horace*. (Connaissance des Lettres, 53.) Pp. 254. Paris: Hatier, 1959. Paper.

PROFESSOR JACQUES PERRET has added to his little book on Virgil a somewhat longer paperback on Horace. It deals essentially with him as a man and a thinker, not as an artist (there is practically no quotation in Latin), though there are a few pages on the strophic form (93-102). A final chapter on his posthumous fortunes makes some interesting points, but for the Renaissance and later centuries attempts no more than the briefest sketch. References are given to primary sources, but secondary sources are indicated only in a useful critical bibliography at the end.

The opening chapter, on the youth of the poet, makes a familiar story fresh and readable. A few reservations must be avowed. The statement (p. 18) that there is no other Latin in whom less rhetoric is found may be true of certain implied faults, but overlooks the contribution of rhetoric to 'periodic' art. If Horace really became a Roman knight, by virtue of being an emergency *tribunus militum*, it is odd that he never mentioned the fact in his writings, even to Maecenas (p. 26). The influence of the Epicureans is played down, perhaps too much; and is 'ces gens mal famés' a just description of people like Atticus or Siro (pp. 19-20)? Horace's affinity to the Neoterici is rightly emphasized (pp. 52-65); but the line

nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum

can hardly be wrested from its natural significance by interpreting *cantare* as 'mock'; nor can the use of this word in the context of *S. ii. 1. 46* be adduced in support (pp. 52-65). Incidentally, can Varius be grouped with the neoteric 'partisans du poème court' (p. 39)? Perret finds the *Epodes* (which are treated very briefly) more Catullan than Archilochian (pp. 63-64). This leads to surprise at Horace's simultaneous addiction to Lucilius, so un-neoteric. Then why not surmise that it was Lucilius' Archilochian *animus* that drew Horace to him, rather than the supposed old-fashioned tastes of Horace's father (pp. 66-72)?

The central chapters, on the writings, develop a consistent portrait of the man. Everyone has his own Horace, often made in his own image. This is rather a serious Horace, very much the Augustan, not unlike Professor Fraenkel's and similarly immune from criticism. In the Fifth Republic it may come naturally to speak of 'ces sentiments d'attachement personnel qui, dans un État sain, unissent le chef à tous les citoyens et font du destin de celui qui a charge de tous une part de la vie privée et comme de l'âme de chacun'; and so to find *Odes* iv. 5 (*Diuis orte bonis*) 'le sommet du lyrisme horatien' (pp. 175-6). Where the book differs markedly from the tradition of Outre-Rhin is in the acceptance of the poems as biographical documents and evidence of convictions without much regard for literary antecedents. Thus Horace is relieved of that shield, so embarrassing to some, by repunctuation—*relicta non bene parmula cum fracta virtus*, as though Archilochus and Alcaeus had never lost one (pp. 29-30). Conclusions are drawn from the poet's description of his first meeting with Maecenas without reference to Bion and Antigonos (p. 38). Melinno forgotten, it is assumed that no one composed lyric verse in quatrains between the Lesbians and Catullus (whose Hymn to Diana is also forgotten) (pp. 94-95). Most important, the Epistle to the Pisones is taken to be a work of about 10 B.C., prompted by a movement to reanimate the theatre at Rome (and so a partial palinode of the Epistle to Augustus, composed two or three years before, which favours cabinet poetry). Horace is even intending to write satyric drama for performance. Neoptolemus is irrelevant—but on that Professor Brink will have something to say (pp. 186-202).

Doubts about the author's judgement will not be stilled by his interpretation of the Isles of the Blest in *Epode* 16 as symbolic of the inner life (p. 114), and of the thunder-clap in *Odes* i. 34 as symbolic of Actium—regardless of the context of Lucretius vi. 400. And those who have been sceptical about the significance of M. Paul Maury's cabalistic arithmetic as applied to the *Eclogues* may not feel differently about its application to the *Odes* (pp. 105-6).

There is space only to mention his view on some vexed topics. He thinks that Horace declaimed his odes to some musical accompaniment (pp. 102-3); that *Epode* 16 was written after the publication of the *Eclogues*, dated 37 (pp. 113; 244); that *Epistles* i. 7, crucial biographically, presupposes that Horace has yielded momentarily to Maecenas' pleas and accepted 'une situation brillante', *cuncta resigno* referring to abandonment of this, not of the farm (pp. 137-8); that *Vergilius* in iv. 12 is the poet (p. 179). Horace was irreligious, but sometimes irrational or superstitious (p. 127). Any 'discordance' between the Horace of the state odes and of the hedonistic would be apparent only to modern man, dedicated to serving the community and nurtured on Christian puritanism (p. 120). (This scouts the probability that Horace was genuinely torn between the individualism of the lyric poetry and Hellenistic philosophy of his study and the patriotic Augustanism amid which he lived.)

Enough has been said to indicate that this book should not be read uncritically. But read it should be by anyone interested in Horace. For the most part its sentiments are unexceptionable. It abounds in *aperçus* and interesting sidelights, evidence of wide reading and of a warm understanding of human nature. Above all, it is readable, and written with that distinction of style which is the special prerogative of the compatriots of such as Boissier.

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## OVIDIANA

*Ovidiana*: Recherches sur Ovide publiées à l'occasion du bimillénaire de la naissance du poète. Pp. xv+568; 2 plates. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1958. Paper.

It was a nice idea on the part of Mr. Herescu and his Rumanian colleagues to offer Ovid a *Festschrift* on his 2,000th birthday, and their international team provides some entertaining glimpses of national conceptions of scholarship. But, as so often happens with birthday presents, their kind intention is not altogether matched by judgement. This book is too big, and too much space is given to verbiage. But it contains several valuable papers, and future writers on Ovid will find in it a useful quarry for assorted material. After an introductory paper by E. T. Salmon on Ovid's birthplace (in which it is argued that the poet owed his potential elevation to the Senate not simply to good birth but to the high reputation of the Paeligni and to the special services of Sulmo in 49 B.C.), the contributions are grouped under six heads: (a) general studies, (b) the poet of love, (c) the poet of the gods (mainly on the *Metamorphoses*), (d) the poet in exile, (e) 'minora et incerta', (f) influence, etc. There is a full and most useful *index locorum*, and many of the articles contain miniature bibliographies.

The 'pure' scholar (of the kind that so terrifies the *Times Literary Supplement*) will turn at once to B. Axelsson's fascinating and very characteristic paper 'Der Mechanismus des ovidischen Pentameterschlusses', based as usual on a remorseless and stimulating study of minutiae, and leading as usual to a vigorous and exciting conclusion, in which the technical superficiality of the *Schnelldichter* Ovid is amusingly shown up: Axelsson has some fun with Mr. Platnauer, and has clearly



enjoyed the 'rabulistische Äusserungen' of Ernest Harrison in *C.R.* lvii, and he weeps genially at the plight 'des jungen britischen composer' rattling his disyllabic fetters. E. J. Kenney has a discussion ('Nequitiae poeta') of the parody-tone of the *Ars* and the *Remedium Amoris*, with an impressive list of Lucretian and Virgilian turns in Ovid, 'almost one might say the Devil quoting Scripture': such an examination of 'resemblances in a well-defined context' is most rewarding. P. J. Enk considers ('sine ira et studio') the problem of a possible double recension by Ovid of certain passages in the *Metamorphoses*; he concludes that there is evidence for this in i. 544 ff., vi. 280 ff., vii. 145, viii. 597 ff., 652 ff., 693 ff., but not in viii. 285 ff., 697 ff., xi. 57<sup>ab</sup>, xii. 192. F. Munari has a careful identification of the manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* used by N. Heinsius (cf. now the article on Heinsius's *Fasti* manuscripts by D. E. W. Wormell, *Hermathena*, xciii [1959], 38-62). A. Ker discusses the text, interpretation, or punctuation of *Ars* i. 191-2, 351-2, ii. 31-32 (where his attractive suggestion may perhaps gain some support from the fact that the substantive *regressus* occurs nowhere else in Ovid), ii. 377-8, iii. 295-6, *Am.* ii. 5. 4, *Her.* 4. 135-8, 5. 81-84, 8. 19-22, 10. 13-14. There is a valuable examination of the *Halieutica* by A. J. Richmond and O. Skutsch, who for the present concern themselves only with purifying the text on internal evidence and on 'such external evidence as does not involve making a decision on the authorship' (it is much to be hoped that they will ultimately take this plunge). F. W. Lenz edits the medieval poem *de medicamine aurium* in exemplary manner. Other stylistic papers are A. G. Lee's discussion of the authorship of the *Nux* (he infers that it is the work of an imitator, written perhaps after A.D. 88, if it could be established that there is a connexion between *Nux* 165 and *Sil.* xv. 486), and J. Marouzeau's scrutiny of some Ovidian mannerisms in word-order (*Met.* ii. 818 "stemus" ait "pacto" velox Cyllenius "isto", v. 290 "qua"que "via est nobis, erit et mihi" dixit "eadem").

Among the general studies there are two papers on Ovid and rhetoric, by F. Arnaldi and T. F. Higham (who says roundly that 'Ovid the rhetorician is an invention of modern critics'). H. Bardon traces the 'baroque' in Ovid through the *Amores*, *Ars*, and *Heroides* to a climax in the *Metamorphoses*, in which he finds 'la haine du statique'. H. Herter soberly examines Ovid's supposed indebtedness to works of art, with particular reference to the description of the Palace of the Sun in *Met.* ii. 1 ff.; he holds that Ovid did not follow, but definitely avoided, the motifs of contemporary art. W. F. J. Knight is scarcely at home in his account of Ovid's metre and rhythm; he uses Weise's text of 1872, and discovers some curious things, both in metre and prosody and in aesthetic (how on earth could he have given any credence to Weise's reading of *Met.* vii. 741?): why does a run of lines with weak third-foot caesura convey sincere patriotism, and what would Axelsson's Young British Composer make of the statement that 'normally there must be two dactyls in the second half of the pentameter'?

In the section on Ovid's love-poetry, E. de Saint Denis writes pleasantly on *Le malicieux Ovide*, regarding the poet as 'le plus parisien, le plus boulevardier des écrivains latins' (just as E. K. Rand long ago observed, 'Ovide parlait français depuis longtemps'); he thinks that Corinna was a real person, not a synthesis. S. d'Elia re-examines the chronology of the *Amores*; he does not believe that the second edition contained fresh material, and he would place it anterior to book iii of the *Ars*. There is a long and tedious paper by O. Seel, who sees



a connexion between *Am. iii. 14* and Herodotus i. 8. 3, perhaps of interest to Herodotean scholars.

L. P. Wilkinson demonstrates afresh his sympathetic understanding of the world of the *Metamorphoses*, noting Ovid's innovation in combining the associative with the chronological method of linking stories, to form 'a real, coherent world in which there is interaction between events that had generally been thought of in isolation'; he notes too how exciting it must have been for contemporary readers to discover Greek myths shading off into Roman history (a thing which Virgil had done before this, in his very different way). His paper has an interesting pendant in P. Grimal's discussion of the legendary chronology of the *Metamorphoses* (students of genealogy should note the impressive table of the descendants of Zeus and Io). F. della Corte examines the possible sources for the Perseus-legend in *Met. iv-v*. Philosophic aspects of the *Metamorphoses* are dealt with earnestly and at length by L. Alfonsi ('L'inquadramento filosofico delle Metamorfosi'), earnestly by W. C. Stephens ('Two Stoic Heroes: Hercules and Ulysses'), and earnestly and quaintly by R. Crahay and J. Hubaux ('Sous le masque de Pythagore'). P. Ferrarino, in 'Laus Veneris', discusses *Fasti iv. 91 ff.* and other passages which he considers relevant. A.-M. Guillemin has a charming little paper on 'Ovide et la vie paysanne', with particular reference to the Baucis and Philemon episode, which she treats as a Virgilian theme in dramatic form, with post-Virgilian modifications.

Rumanian scholars have always a natural interest and pride in Ovid as a local man, and the most interesting of the articles on the poems of exile is S. Lambrino's picture of Tomi, a 'cité grécogète'. He examines two passages in the *Tristia* (v. 7. 47-48, 10. 43-44), concluding that the Getae had their own system of legal procedure; and he infers that the applause given to Ovid's recitation of his poem in the Getic language was on a special occasion, when the Getae, in formal armed session, took their oath to the new Emperor, Tiberius; he regards Tomi as a 'double' town, Greeks and Getae each according respect to the others' customs and procedure—something like Massilia, although at Tomi there were not two separate settlements. Ovid's Getic poem is discussed also by D. Adamesteanu, who thinks that it was a *laudatio*, recited in a gymnasium τοῖς ἐφήβοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς βουλομένοις; and E. Lozovan, writing on 'Ovide et le bilinguisme', fancifully imagines Ovid's gradual transformation into a complete Getan—his last and personal metamorphosis. D. Marin has an obscure paper on the grounds for Ovid's exile; R. Marache ('La révolte d'Ovide contre Auguste') professes to detect, behind the poet's cringing, criticism of Augustus and even hostility to him; N. I. Herescu examines *Trist. iii. 3. 73 ff.*, and holds that in describing himself as *tenerorum lusor amorum*, with no reference to his other writings, Ovid is having a tombstone fling at Augustus. Prefixed to this part of the book is a lengthy analysis of *Trist. iv. 10* by E. Paratore, who appears to dislike the poem heartily.

The book ends with a collection of varied 'echoes' from Ovid in later writers (Silius, by R. T. Bruère; the author of the *Octavia*, by L. Herrmann; Juvenal, by E. Thomas): not a very stimulating occupation, but Miss Thomas writes with disarming good sense, and Mr. Bruère has discovered that Silius had imagination. Tennyson once observed sadly that some people 'will not allow one to say *Ring the bell* without finding that we have taken it from Sir P. Sidney, or even to use such a simple expression as the ocean *roars* without finding out the precise verse in Homer or Horace from which we have plagiarized

it'. An epilogue is provided by F. Peeters ('Ovide et les études ovidiennes actuelles'), who finds Ovid 'le poète le plus doué de toute la littérature latine', a pretty birthday compliment.

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## THE BUDÉ PLINY

A. ERNOUT: Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire naturelle*, livre xxvii. Texte établi, traduit et commenté. (Collection des Universités de France.) Pp. 123 (22-70 double). Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959. Paper, 7.50 fr.

PROFESSOR ERNOUT's edition of Book xxvi, for which Dr. R. Pépin provided the translation, was reviewed in *C.R.*, lxxiii. 146 (June 1959). In the present volume, its successor, Ernout is responsible for the translation as well as for the introduction, text, and commentary. This volume has been revised by M. J. André, and the notes reflect the influence of his *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin* published in 1956.

Book xxvi was already in print when Dr. W. H. S. Jones published his Loeb edition of Books xxiv-xxvii. The present volume takes some at least of Jones's work into account.

The introduction is largely devoted to an excellent summary of the facts relating to Pliny's sources. Here arises the difficult question of Pliny's use of Dioscorides. Did Pliny draw on him directly? If so, why is he not mentioned in the list of authorities? The second question is not discussed. The first, however, seems to be answered in the affirmative. At any rate, Ernout maintains that the alterations and omissions that sometimes occur in statements based on Dioscorides are not enough to prove the presence of an intermediate source, such as Sextius Niger.

In textual matters Ernout, as before, is extremely cautious. 'Dans les endroits douteux il m'a paru plus sage de m'en tenir à l'accord de nos meilleurs manuscrits, et j'ai été des plus sobres en conjectures personnelles; l'apparat critique et le commentaire doivent fournir au lecteur les éléments d'information nécessaires pour établir son jugement' (p. 11).

Some ten new conjectures are proposed, and of these only three are allowed to stand in the text: 96 *plurimae* (*ἡλεικτα* Dioscorides) is of no great consequence, and *plures* (Sillig) and *numerosae* (Mayhoff) are each in their way as close to the manuscript readings *nure*, *nures*, *runae*; 97 *Lycapsos longioribus* <est> fills a lacuna in *R*; 122 *semine* (for *seminis*) improves the structure, but does not alter the sense. Of the other conjectures *ulceribus* for *uolneribus* (19) is neat, but is rightly regarded as no more than a possibility.

Ernout effectively defends some of the most difficult readings of the manuscripts. In 5 Pliny describes in a purple passage how aconite counteracts the poison from a scorpion's sting: 'with this alone it fights' *ueluti praesentius inuento*. Instead of accepting an emendation such as the brilliant *ueluti pari intus inuento* of Barbarus, Ernout finds an ingenious interpretation of the manuscript reading, which he renders 'comme si elle se sentait plus puissante que l'adversaire qu'elle a trouvé'.

Occasionally the editor's zeal in this respect seems excessive, for example in 105, where *vis ei septica* (*smectica* Jones) *et exulceratrix* is briefly excused as an

error due to Pliny himself. In 125 *semen papaueri rotundo simile* is rendered 'la graine ressemble à la graine ronde du pavot'; but can the text as printed mean anything but 'the seed resembles (that of) the round poppy'? Ernout notes Jones's *papaueris*, which is harmless enough and gives the required sense. But in 86 Ernout, against his usual practice, prefers the old emendation *estur etiam* < *contra* > *malum mentis* to the less drastic *estur etiam in alimentis* (Jan), where the manuscripts have *malum mentis*, *alumentis*, etc.; for according to him the following phrase, *in medendo*, etc., must imply that a medical prescription is under discussion. His rendering, however, 'dans ce traitement', is somewhat forced: *in medendo* should refer to medical treatment in general, of which some examples have been given and others are to follow. If *sed* is taken as resumptive, the phrase will fit in well with the parenthetical remark about the use of *glycysside* as a foodstuff. In general, Ernout's restraint in dealing with the text is exemplary.

The commentary is lucid and excellently documented. No reference, however, is made to an important feature of Jones's edition, namely the index of plants which he prepared with the help of Professor A. C. Andrews. There is in fact a large measure of agreement between the identifications proposed in the two editions; but where discrepancies occur, in would have been instructive and helpful to know why Jones and Ernout differ. In a few cases, for example *bupleuros* (57), *pelandrion* (126), and *tragos* (142), Ernout has more positive suggestions to offer than Jones; and in 103 it may be noted that he rejects *leucographis* as a plant and identifies it convincingly with the white clay of Dioscorides v. 134. Pliny makes this kind of mistake elsewhere. There are valuable philological notes on *aquifolia* (63), *linum* (101), and *proserpinaca* (127). Altogether, this is an excellent edition, trustworthy, stimulating, and informative.

There are a few misprints: two chapters incorrectly numbered (p. 34), *multitudine* (p. 58), < *si* > misplaced? (p. 69), 'so' for 'to' (p. 91), *et stomachum* for *stomachum* (p. 101), *maritimum* (p. 108).

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## THE LATIN NOVELLA

LUIGI PEPE: *Per una storia della narrativa latina*. Pp. 207. Naples: Armanni, 1959. Paper, L. 2,500.

SIGNOR PEPE is not concerned in this book with narrative in the widest sense, and in particular not with historical narrative. His theme is the urbane, sophisticated, naturalistic, and self-contained short narrative, of which the type-specimen in Latin is Petronius' story of the Widow of Ephesus, and for which the term *novella* has by now become naturalized in English. Its greatest exponent in European literature is of course Boccaccio, and Boccaccio is clearly in the forefront of Pepe's mind, so much so that his approach to the history and development of the *novella* becomes rather teleological. The Boccaccian *novella* is for him a kind of final cause.

In his first two chapters he distinguishes sharply between the *novella* as a literary genre and *novella*-like elements in other genres and such pre-literary phenomena as the fairy-tale and the anecdote. Failure to make this distinction,



he says, has led to 'the myth . . . of the prehistory of the novel' (p. 13). In the rest of the book he outlines the history and influence of the *novella* in Latin literature. The *novella* as a literary form is in his view the creation of one man, Aristides of Miletus, writing shortly after the Roman occupation of Asia and impelled to his new act of creation by the stresses and changes which the Romans brought about in Ionian society. The translation of his Milesian tales, made in the next generation by L. Cornelius Sisenna, served as model for an extensive Latin *novella* literature, which has perished itself, but profoundly influenced many other genres, from epic to declamation, and survived in encapsulated form in Apuleius and Petronius (whom Pepe dates to the end of the second century A.D.).

At this point the reader may recall that we do not know Aristides' date except for the *terminus ante quem* provided by Sisenna, that there survives but a single word from his Milesian tales (*δερμηστῆς, ὅστις τὰ δέρματα ἐσθλῆς, ὡς ὑποσημαίνειται καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μιλησιακῶν Ἀριστείδου*, Harpocration 54. 25 b), that our knowledge of their structure hangs on a peculiarly obscure passage in Ovid (*Trist.* ii. 413 ff.), that we possess of Sisenna's version ten fragments, of which the longest runs to thirteen words, that the only references to it outside of the grammarians are a couplet in Ovid's *Tristia* (ii. 443-4) which has been variously interpreted and a bald remark of Fronto (57. 7 v.d.H.), that the only Latin writers whose work is described as Milesian are Apuleius (once by himself in a passage whose interpretation is far from clear [*Met.* i. 1; cf. M. Malt, *Ad Apulei Madaurensis Metamorphoseon lib. i commentarius exegeticus*, pp. 21-22]), and once in the Augustan History [Capitolinus, *Clodius Albinus* 12. 13]) and the emperor Clodius Albinus (*ibid.* 11. 8). Pedantry can stifle creative thinking, but evidence is a useful thing too.

Pepe has much interesting and intelligent comment to offer on various passages of Latin literature, but his book is marred not only by the attempt to fit all the facts into his scheme, but by a tendency to mistake his own hypotheses for facts. Examples of the first are the assertion that a *novella* must underlie those declamations of Seneca or ps.-Quintilian which present *novella*-like features (pp. 46, 121, etc.), and the argument that the *fabellae Latinae ad verbum e Graecis expressae* of Cicero, *Fin.* i. 4, are the Milesian tales of Aristides in Sisenna's version. Pepe asserts, in connexion with the latter passage, that 'il termine *fabellae* non può qui stare, in luogo del semplice *fabulae*, ad indicare commedie e tragedie, come intendono o lasciano intendere, trascurando di approfondire la questione, i commentatori' (p. 99). But a glance at *Att.* vii. 3. 10 and other passages would have shown him that Cicero can use *fabella* for 'play', and examination of the context might suggest that the diminutive is here pejorative.

Examples of the second are the assertions that Apuleius regarded the Cupid and Psyche story as a Milesian tale (p. 69), and that Phaedrus and Petronius borrowed the story of the Widow of Ephesus from Sisenna (p. 134). Pepe cannot have his cake and eat it. If Sisenna's *Milesiae* were as well known as he believes, then it is unlikely that Petronius would simply lift a story out of them.

That there were Latin *novellae* no one would deny. Whether many of them were written down is a matter of doubt. And in any case, the development of the literary form was much less unilinear than Pepe will allow. It is significant that he never discusses the relation of mime and *novella*, though one of his 'motivi schiettamente novellistici', the feigned departure and premature return



of the husband who suspects his wife's fidelity (p. 129), is a typical mime motif (cf. H. Reich, *Der Mimus*, i. 89-90).

There are indexes of subject-matter and of modern authorities cited, but none of Latin passages discussed.

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## PERSIUS AND JUVENAL

W. V. CLAUSEN: *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae*. (Script. Class. Bibl. Oxon.) Pp. xiv+198. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. Cloth, 15s. net.

OWEN's Oxford text of Juvenal, with its vestigial apparatus and other shortcomings, has survived for over half a century as one of the least satisfactory volumes in this series; for the adoption of a number of Housman's readings in the reissue of 1907 amounted to little more than editorial first-aid. Happily Owen's reputation rests on his contributions to the study of other Latin poets than Juvenal. An up-to-date replacement of this text is therefore welcome, especially as its editor has established himself as a unique authority on the textual problems of Persius and manifestly has an interest in those of Juvenal.

On this new Persius little need be said now. Casual inspection shows that the many virtues which have made his edition of 1956 so justly admired are reproduced here; *quid plura?* The greater complexity of Juvenal's textual history make the editing of him, however, quite another matter.<sup>1</sup> Clausen's sensible and balanced judgement often stands him in good stead; he modestly relegates his own previously published suggestions to the apparatus. From the style of both introduction and notes to his Persius one would expect to find him susceptible to Housman's influence in Juvenalian matters, and this proves to be true. Generally he shows discrimination in adopting only the best of Housman's emendations (e.g. *imi* in 13. 49 and excellent repunctuations such as 5. 31-32), while discarding extravagances such as *aera* in 3. 218 and *similis* in 14. 269. Although stopping short of the extremism of Knoche and Jachmann in regard to deletion of lines, he does inflict some unnecessary casualties upon a long-suffering text, the most serious being the removal of 7. 15, 51 and 8. 6-8.<sup>2</sup> Against these, however, may be set a refreshingly unfashionable view of the Oxford fragment.

First impressions are thus favourable; it is only a closer acquaintance that leads to an uncomfortable awareness that rather more pondering both of method and points of detail was required if this text of Juvenal was to come near to the high level of his Persius. This emerges most obviously from consideration of the apparatus. Here Clausen wisely avoids Knoche's cabalistic symbolism, unsuitable for any but experienced users and perplexing enough at best. Although the scale of this series precludes comprehensive presentation of the current state of textual knowledge in the case of an author such as Juvenal, the salient information should be registered. This is duly done for the pre-Carolingian fragments (Ambrosian, Antinoe, Bobbio), and, by inclusion of

<sup>1</sup> Housman's observation (reviewing Owen's first edition of 1902) in *C.R.* xvii (1903), 390.

<sup>2</sup> I explained the first of these passages in

*C.R.*, n.s. i (1951), 140-1, and examined the others in *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Hamburg, 1956), pp. 101 ff.

readings of *R* (= Par. 8072) and of the Orleans fragment (in 'Spiegelschrift') for the congener manuscripts of the Pithoeanus. So far, so good. Clausen is, however, less successful in reporting the pattern, disclosed by Knoche's researches, of the four main streams of the interpolated tradition in so far as these can be detected beneath the complex cross-fertilization which went on during the Dark Ages. Indeed he does not attempt to do so. Though drawing heavily on Knoche, as any editor of Juvenal must, for information on readings, he appears to be over-sceptical of the results achieved, to judge from the almost despairing language on p. xii of his preface, and the reference to the *Grundlagen* (*Philologus*, Suppl. xxxiii. 1 [1940]) in his footnote, with its litotes '(liber) . . . non mediocri doctrina refertus'. Knoche's conclusions on the interrelations of the manuscripts may be said to have passed into the bloodstream of Juvenalian criticism, and, subject to minor modification in the light of fresh information which may be discovered, command the respectful assent even of those who, like myself, often differ from him *toto caelo* in choice of readings.<sup>1</sup> Hence the usefulness of any new text which fails to take reasonable account of this work is bound to be compromised at the outset.

To meet the legitimate demands of a modern user, and at the same time to avoid elaborate compendia, an editor of Juvenal must pick with great care the 'interpolated' manuscripts he cites. Housman was luckier than he could have known in his choice of *AFGLOTU*, and in the light of what is now virtually received opinion his entries were to prove on occasion highly informative by reason of their very economy. By reporting *G* and *U* he was unwittingly reflecting the *Γ* family, by and large the most helpful of the four interpolated elements for constructing a text; his *F*, *L*, and *O* are a fair sample of the *Δ* group, which contains perhaps more of value than Knoche's *Ψ* and the very debased *Σ* families. Thus to take a random instance, Housman's entry at 6. 643 tells a clear story:

tragicis *PAFGU*; magicis *LOT*

The *Π* stream (*A* has distant *P* affiliations) and *Γ* agree in *tragicis*; *Δ* is split, with the eccentric *T* concurring in the interpolated reading, whose genesis is sufficiently obvious from the reference to Medea later in the line. Amplification beyond this should, if it is to be useful, take some notice of *Ψ* (in Knoche's sense) and record at least the distinctive features of *Σ*, such as the transposition of satires 15 and 16, a fact of some significance in considering the unfinished state of Book v, and the inversion of lines 108 and 109 in satire 11. On *Σ* Clausen is silent; on *Ψ* nearly so, for *H*, one of the three<sup>2</sup> manuscripts whose lections he regularly cites in addition to those of Housman's septet, is indeed a *Ψ* representative, but its readings in isolation (such as *crudus* in 1. 143) do not point to what stood in *Ψ*; in conjunction with any or all of Vat. Urb. 342 (Knoche's *u*), Leid. Voss. F 64 (Knoche's *B*), and Leid. Voss. Q 18 (Knoche's *V*), they often do, as, for example, in the omission of 1. 24-25 and in offering *nimiam* in 6. 46.

<sup>1</sup> Thus newly found manuscripts, such as the sixteen whose readings have recently been published by A. Grużewski in Poland, fit in to the classification as well as can be expected in so 'mixed' a tradition. See *C.R.* n.s. viii (1958), 287-8.

<sup>2</sup> The others are *K* (Laur. 34. 42) and *Z* (Lond. Mus. Brit. add. 15600). *K* resists precise classification, but has interest enough

to warrant its inclusion by siglum; it is curious that Housman only mentioned its readings intermittently, as these were known to Jahn (1851; denoted there as *a*) and to Hosius (1888, as *R*). *Z* is the fourth of the major representatives of the *Δ* group; it does not add much to what one would infer from *F*, *L*, and *O*.

The readings of *V* and *B* have been known since Hosius's work of 1888, and to have had them included here along with *H*, one would have gladly dispensed with sporadic citation of *Vat. Reg. 2029* (Knoche's *r*) and *Vat. 3286* (Knoche's *l*). In regard to these last I cannot discover any principle governing the citations of them which cumber the apparatus. They both have  $\Gamma$  affinities; in isolation the reading of either has only passing interest, if that. Thus in 2. 106 *Vat. Reg. 2029* offers *solium*, against the unanimous voice of the tradition, which gives *spolium*. The omitted letter may be merely a lucky slip of the pen, and provides only fortuitous support, if support at all, for Herwerden's conjecture, which must be assessed on its intrinsic merits. Clausen cites this manuscript about twenty-seven times, frequently for the merest of aberrations (as, for example, 6. 166; 8. 182); less than a dozen of its readings help materially towards forming a judgement, as happens when it concurs with either *G* against *U* or *U* against *G*. Thus in 6. 136 we have:

*Caesennia U Vat. Reg. 2029; Cessennia GL; Censen(n)ia peiorave PSR rel.*

Here *U* is shown to be offering a  $\Gamma$  lection which has been only slightly effaced in *G*, and we choose this form of the proper name with a degree of confidence we might not otherwise feel. The same would be true in 11. 55,<sup>1</sup> where the true reading, again a  $\Gamma$  lection, is this time not in doubt:

*et fugientem G Vat. Reg. 2029; fugientem U OT; effugientem P rel.*

In other ways the apparatus could be tidied up: the duplicated enumeration of six minor but in this matter important manuscripts in the note on 6. 126 is perhaps the most arresting instance, but there is a good deal of grit that should be removed, such as the entries on lines 3, 16,<sup>2</sup> and 148 of satire 1.

The space saved might advantageously have been used to cite glosses or interlinear notes that carry a meaning: thus in 8. 38 *sic* is the undisputed property of *H. Iunius*, but *P* reads *si* with the gloss *solo nomine et non moribus*, which looks like the observation of a reader who knew of the reading *sic*, whatever his source of information was; the survival of *sic* in *Lond. Brit. Mus. add. 11997* may be a shred of good tradition, but one cannot tell. Again in 8. 148 (157) the gloss *sicut agaso* in *P* and in 9. 105 its suprascript *auferto* deserve mention. Most important, in my judgement, is that on 7. 177 in both *P* and the fifth- to sixth-century Antinoe fragment ( $\Sigma$  has apparently something similar) whereby one of the most widely accepted yet specious emendations in all Latin is disposed of.<sup>3</sup> Relevant too is the grammarian (Mai, *C.A.* viii. 500, accessible in E. Lommatzsch, *Quaestiones Iuvenalianae*, p. 394) who quotes the last three words of 1. 70

<sup>1</sup> Other places where this manuscript may offer a reading of value are 7. 215, 218, and 235; 10. 87: and perhaps *sagina* in 4. 67. Its transposition of 6. 307 and 308 (shared with *K*; *PQR* all omit 307) might suggest that these two lines are ancient alternatives, perhaps author-variants; for whichever of them precedes the other the passage limps, yet with either omitted, a vigorous sense results.

<sup>2</sup> Curiously Housman, who had rebuked Owen for making reference to this trivial transposition in his text of 1902 (*C.R.* xvii [1903] 391), allowed the same entry to stand in his own apparatus two years later.

<sup>3</sup> As early as c. A.D. 500 it seems to have

been necessary to warn readers that *scindens* here does not mean 'tear up', as it certainly does in *Martial ix. 73. 9*. *Quintilian*, i. proem. 13 ('scidit se studium . . . ut artes eas plures videretur') and *Seneca, Epp. 89. 16* ('naturalis pars philosophiae in duo scinditur . . . utraque dividuntur in suos ut ita dicam gradus') demand the sense of 'subdivide', which is in point here. The musicians *Pollio* and *Chrysogonus* are getting the lion's share of the rewards for teaching only one subdivision of what to *Theodorus* of *Gadara* was the unified art of rhetoric. The participle stands; *scindens* in *B* (*Leid. Voss. F 64*) need be no more than a clerical slip.



in isolation, thereby testifying independently to the ablative of the noun *rubeta* and hinting perhaps at the correct meaning of *sitiente* (i.e. 'sitim faciente').

Next three observations on the manner of presentation of the apparatus:

1. What possessed Clausen to designate Vindobonensis 111/107 as *V*? This hapless document has been variously *Vind.* (Beer, Housman) and *W* (Knoche). There is confusion enough in the nomenclature of Juvenal's manuscripts as it is, without gratuitous addition; here *V* is doubly unfortunate, as Knoche has already used it for Leid. Voss. Q 18, the tenth-century  $\Psi$  manuscript mentioned above. Clausen's choice could not have been dictated by a need for harmonization with his Persius-sigla; this Vienna manuscript does not contain Persius, and *V* in his Persius apparatus denotes Vat. Reg. 1560, which does not contain Juvenal.

2.  $\Phi$  is not a happy choice of compendium to use for the residue of the selected interpolated manuscripts; *cett.* or *rell.* would be free from misleading associations. It may be that where all or most of these ten witnesses differ from a reading of *P* and its congeners, they may be offering one that stood in the postulated fifth- or sixth-century recension called  $\Phi$  by Knoche, but the matter is not so simple as that. Granted, however, that  $\Phi$  (or some equivalent symbol) is to be used for Clausen's purpose, it should be used consistently: as it is, we have in consecutive entries:

1. 67 falsi PRV sicut coni. Markland; falsum G; falso  $\Phi$
- 68 fecerit PSRVHKOTZ; fecerat AGLU

Why this formidable procession of nine capital letters? One pauses, suspecting a reason; why not PSRV $\Phi$  or alternatively: . . . fecerat  $\Phi$ ? Why not, indeed?

3. Nothing is gained by resuscitating the abbreviation *Arou* in place of *Q*. Consider, for example, the entry for 3. 82:

recumbet PRVHKUZ *Arou*; recumbit AGLOT; resedet *Aurel*.

By all means discard mechanical alphabetism so as to group together the *P*-witnesses, but then to put *Arou* like a poor relation at the end undoes the good achieved, for of all documents this one ought to come immediately after *P*, as it will do if styled *Q*.

On important matters the apparatus is reliable; errors of detail which I have noticed chiefly concern *H* and to a lesser extent *L*, *T*, and *O*. Whether the discrepancies between Clausen's reports and the sources of information accessible to me are to be explained by his having relied on fresh scrutiny of the relevant documents, I do not know, and I have not photographs at hand for verification. The following differences have caught my eye:

3. 187 *libis* occurs in *H* as well as *V* (= *W*) and *L*; from Clausen's entry one must infer that it concurs with *PSR* and the vulgate in *libris*.
5. 96 *L* offers *patimur*, not *patitur*.
9. 63 So far as I know *LO* read *ais* of the vulgate; Clausen credits them with *ait* (as does Vianello, not always a reliable informant).
9. 105 *T* also offers *tollito*.
9. 132 *H* reads *convenient* as well as *PAE*.
10. 70 *H* does not offer *indiciis*, according to Hosius.
10. 164 *H*, in addition to *PFGU*, has *nec*.
12. 93 So far as I can ascertain, *H* has *nec*, not *neu*.

13. 50 Only *A* representatives, so far as I know, have the virtue to omit *aut*; according to my information *H* includes it, along with *PSE cett.*

14. 245 *LOT* also have the same reading as *AHK.*

14. 293 *L* as well as *A* offers *coemptor.*

15. 43 *L* has the reading of *PAU Bob.*, not that of the vulgate.

I have not been able to resolve what appear to be discrepancies in the entries on 8. 131 and one or two other places. Clausen seems, however, right against Knoche in crediting *H* with *ducit* in 6. 238. One hopes that some or all of these differences may indeed be true readings; if these are in fact slips, most of them can easily be rectified in a reprint. May further scrutiny disclose no more.

Conjectures are accurately assigned to their authors; three slight misrepresentations of Housman, traceable perhaps to Knoche's enthusiasm for deleting lines, are, however, perpetuated. Housman did not put 8. 134 or 8. 153 or 14. 119 in square brackets, although confessing to serious misgivings on the first two. On the last his '... nisi forte ... *delendus est 119*' implies that he regarded deletion of it as a rejected expedient. Knoche's '*del. Housm.*' (echoed by Clausen) is not quite accurate; *delenda censuit* or the like (cf. Clausen on 7. 50-51 or 8. 223) would meet the case.

Turning to specific passages, I first salute Clausen as the only editor since 1902<sup>1</sup> to leave the text of 1. 155 f. unaltered, and to demonstrate by reference to Madvig (*Opusc. Acad.* 541-2) that he understands *et* (= *et quae*) in 157 correctly. It is satisfactory to see the apparatus in 1. 106 purged at long last of the inane miswritings of a number of the manuscripts; *purpura maior* was sound enough, even without the scholiast's hint and Statius' *maioris* (= *latisioris*) *munera clavi* (Silv. iii. 2. 124) to authenticate it. It is well too that no fuss is made over a lacuna after 1. 131, but a pity that the tiresome editorial habit of inseting l. 127 persists, for this, as Miss G. M. Hirst observed, divorces two sections of a paragraph organically bonded by a delicate pattern of internal chiasmus.<sup>2</sup> One would also like to see the ablative *rubeta* firmly installed in the text of 1. 70; syntax and the evidence of *R* and *Vind.* 111/107 alike demand it, to say nothing of the extraneous testimony of a grammarian mentioned above. Harrison's *ecquando* in 1. 87 should at least be kept alive in the apparatus; it may well be right, for acceptance of it need not entail removal of 85-86 to another place. Enclose them in a parenthesis, and the thought runs on smoothly from 84 to the question in 87 introduced by *ecquando*.

Space precludes more than selective reference to points of interest in the remaining satires. In 3. 109 it is probably prudent to obelize, although I believe that something can be done for this line.<sup>3</sup> 3. 205: does Clausen believe, as the reading *sub eodem marmore* implies, that poor Cordus' sideboard was of

<sup>1</sup> Owen jettisoned the truth in his second edition of 1907 in favour of a specious emendation.

<sup>2</sup> *A. J. Phil.* xlv (1924), 277-8.

<sup>3</sup> I still think that the reconstruction I proposed for this line (*C. R.*, n.s. i [1951], 139) points to the truth, but I admit that it is difficult to take *sanctum* and *ab* together in the required sense. Recognizing now (as I did not then) the possibility of Juvenal's having written *set* on occasion, I believe the text ran:

*praeterea sanctum nihil est, <act> ab inguine tuta  
non matrona laris. . .*

The omission of *set* in *PR* would be a form of lipography from the letters of *est* immediately preceding, and with its loss the subsequent textual degeneration would have occurred much as previously suggested. For *tutus* with *ab*, cf. 11. 146, and for *sed* introducing a complex of negatives, cf. 8. 217 f.

marble? An unlikely fixture to find in a garret surely: *eo de marmore* being excluded because of the rarity of the oblique cases of the pronoun, Housman's *eodem* (<e> *marmore* seems called for. Interpretation of this line may be assisted by a wall-painting from Herculaneum discussed by F. W. Kelsey in *A. J. Arch.* xii (1908), 30; the scholiast's *a posteriore parte recumbens* may also be helpful. 4. 116: Clausen's two commas imply belief in a hyperbaton of an extreme kind that Housman properly doubted for Juvenal. *a ponte* in the sense of a 'bridge functionary' gives a good satirical point (cf. Haverfield in *C.R.* xiv. [1900], 86 and *A.L.L.* x. 498 f.) and is not disposed of by Owen's criticism (*C.R.* xiv [1900], 87). Let the comma after *dirisque* go. 6. 158: apparently Clausen can accept *dedit hunc* here; the quasi-anaphora from 157 would surely imply that the ring had been used for two separate presentations, once by an anonymous barbarian to a *femina incesta* and once by Agrippa to his sister. As the epithets cannot be divorced from their nouns, the case for Housman's *gestare* seems compelling. 8. 105: certainly obelize, if playing for safety; Knoche's (<*audax*>) might be mentioned in the apparatus, although it is applied in Lucan (v. 478) to the wrong Antony. Better, because it would refer effectively to the right bearer of the name, is:

inde Dolabella atque Antonius <ebrius>, inde . . .

I owe this to a pupil<sup>1</sup> who appositely quoted Caelius *apud* Quint. iv. 2. 123. The omission would be due to an obvious homoeoteleuton, of a kind that need not have offended Juvenal's ear; cf. *sciet* followed immediately by *audiet* in 9. 108. 8. 194: Stahl's *Celsi* (*Rh. Mus.* xlviii [1893], 157 f.) deserves to be kept alive in the apparatus, if not promoted to the text. 8. 241: it is distressing to find no reference to D. S. Robertson's (<*igni*>) (*C.R.* xlii [1928], 60) even in the apparatus. Can one reread Dio's account of the battle of Actium and remain unconvinced that this is what Juvenal wrote? 10. 323: if printed as it stands, 323 is near-nonsense, and Heinrich would have been right to delete it. But with a deft repunctuation (known to Mayor) all is well:

. . . sive Catulla (abl.)  
deterior? totos (= omnes) habet illic femina mores.

11. 57: Clausen was hardly to know of a very tempting suggestion of Hackforth, so far as I am aware unpublished:

. . . non praestem iuxta sermonibus et re.

This yields the exact sense required ('whether I practise what I preach'); its weakness is that it is based on an isolated reading of *A.* 11. 106: a minor tragedy here; Duff had disposed of Hadrian Valesius's misbegotten insertion of (<*in*>), but Housman clung to it, and his precedent will take some breaking. The singular present participle *venientis* can carry the meaning of 'advancing to the attack'; the list of passages, mainly from Virgil, which call for this sense is a long one, and includes, for example, *Aen.* x. 456 *Turni venientis imago* and others.<sup>2</sup> 12. 61: Clausen adopts Housman's *accipe*, but unfortunately of the seven instances of this imperative in Juvenal, four are in *Oratio Recta* (e.g. 3. 295 or 3. 187, where single inverted commas are needed) and the rest are in transition-formulae, as in 7. 36, 13. 120, and 15. 31. There are better parallels in Livy<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the Rev. J. Ashton of Campion Hall, Oxford, for kindly allowing me to place his suggestion on record here.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Aen.* xii. 510, etc. Perhaps too *Ecl.*

ix. 13 is relevant: doves are helpless *aquila veniente*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Livy xxvi. 51. 8 or xxxix. 48. 5.



than the usually quoted xlii. 5. 8 for the meaning of *aspice* required, which is 'see for yourself the situation regarding'. Before the age of lifeboats axes were needed, one imagines, in moments of nautical extremity, not only to cut down the mast, but after this had failed to save the ship, to hack away a bit of timber to float on (one thinks of Odysseus in *Od.* xii. 420 f.). In the *sauve qui peut* one would need to know where to grab a minimum of traveller's iron rations (line 60) and an axe; hence *aspice* is sound. 13. 44: the emendation *saccato* seems obligatory; Vulcan comes in to dinner late after the wine has been strained. 13. 153: Clausen goes all the way and deletes the line (see above). It can, however, be saved: I owe to Professor O. Skutsch the suggestion that an extra interrogation mark be put after 152. This makes 153 an independent question, and all offence on score of bathos is removed. 14. 16 f.: it is as well that 23-24 remain in the traditional place, but the case for Richards's *inscripti* seems unanswerable. In this passage Bücheler's *utique . . . putet* in 16-17 also cries out for adoption, it does not even figure in the apparatus. 15. 86-87: I cannot believe that anyone coming to this passage for the first time would take *te* here, all unheralded in mid-flow of Juvenal's discourse, to be an address to the reader, unless forewarned by commentators. Either obelize, or, if feeling adventurous, consider perhaps whether *Promethea* in *P* in 85 may not offer a clue. Suppose that this concealed the vocative in apostrophe, and that further *donavit* is the remains of *donasti* (perhaps written in *scriptio plena* as *donavisti*); we might then restore:

quem summa caeli raptum de parte, Prometheu,  
donasti terris; elemento gratulor, et te  
exultare reor.

For the syncopated inflection of the perfect indicative in Juvenal, cf. 8. 164, 185.<sup>1</sup>

Clausen eliminates some fifty lines as spurious; this is about one half as many as Knoche. Earlier editors rejected over forty of these, lines either self-condemned (such as 3. 113) or so banal (as 8. 258) that no tear need be shed. The influence of Jachmann accounts for eight more: 8. 6-8 (see p. 51, n. 2 above), 9. 120-3, and 11. 168<sup>b</sup>-9<sup>a</sup>. This last deletion leaves, as has been observed,<sup>2</sup> an inconsequential transition in that the words *magis ille . . .* in the latter part of 169 do not cohere with what preceeds, whatever the true reading in 168<sup>a</sup> was. In general I am sceptical about interpolations so contrived as to form the tail of one line and the head of the next. Thus the wording of 15. 107-8 (*nec enim omnia . . .*) recalls that of 14. 127, a point of relevance perhaps, in that Juvenal elsewhere is prone to echo his own turns of phrase. The emendation to

nec enim omnia cuidam (or cuiquam)  
pro vita facienda putat, . . .

may cure all. Once the singular *putat* (sc. Zeno, from 107) had been pluralized<sup>3</sup> (under the influence of *praecepta*), the pronoun would be vulnerable. Again 13. 187<sup>b</sup>-189<sup>a</sup> may be perhaps salvable if enclosed in a parenthesis and *omnes* changed to *omne* (sc. *rectum*, meaning the whole of morality, like *omnis virtus* in the philosophers).

On the Oxford fragment, Clausen is prepared to entertain the hypothesis of 'double' recension in Leo's sense, as appears from p. xiii of the preface. This

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Knoche's remark in his apparatus on 8. 233 applies only to the plural form *parastis*; if it does not, it is incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> See D. R. Shackleton Bailey in *J.R.S.* xliii (1953), 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Putat* is corrupted to *putant* in the vulgate in 14. 121.

may not be the best way of defending these lines; an amplified statement of Clausen's own views on the whole problem would be interesting and welcome. In my view the deletionist case is not a watertight one; I am not as impressed as I perhaps should be by linguistic arguments such as Knoche's (in *Philologus*, xciii [1938], 196 f.). If J. Colin<sup>1</sup> is right in claiming that the lines can be best illustrated from monuments of third-century date, then the case for non-Juvenalian authorship is weakened. It is fairly certain that Juvenal was little read after his death until the age of Ammianus (xxviii. 4. 14); if so, it is hard to imagine that his text would have attracted a large-scale interpolation such as this one so early.

To conclude: thanks largely to Clausen's own labours, the last word, for all practical purposes, has been said on the text of Persius; on that of Juvenal much as yet remains outstanding. But I should be sorry if the length to which this review has run were to be taken to imply that I am insensitive to the care which has gone into the preparation of the text:<sup>2</sup> differences of approach are bound to engender criticism, and my observations are not intended to be in any way destructive.

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## LATIN MANUSCRIPTS IN GERMANY

E. A. LOWE: *Codices Latini Antiquiores: Germany*. Part viii: *Altenburg-Leipzig*. Pp. xii+69; 313 facsimiles. Part ix: *Maria Laach-Würzburg*. Pp. xii+70; 305 facsimiles. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. £8. 8s. each.

A NEW volume of *Codices Latini Antiquiores* is always a delight to read, and these two parts, which deal with manuscripts preserved in Germany, are no exceptions. They offer the excitement of a surprising number of hands and manuscripts seen in facsimile for the first time; the satisfying knowledge that all Latin manuscripts written before A.D. 800, and surviving in the Germany of 1938, are here reproduced, described, and palaeographically analysed; and the pleasure of meeting some famous manuscripts again, in a new guise, through the reproduction of unfamiliar pages. In these volumes, famous fragmentary legal papyri reappear, mostly from Berlin and now lost to it, and written, some in respectable hands like Rustic Capital or Uncial, and others in a range of experimental hands, here called 'early half-uncial'; the Virgil Codex Augusteus in contrived Square Capitals (viii, p. 9), the Wolfenbüttel Arcerianus of the Agrimensores (ix. 1374 a, b) in fifth- and sixth-century uncials, and a fifth-century uncial pocket copy of Cicero (viii. 1043) appear together with some beautiful half-uncial manuscripts like the Bamberg Jerome-Augustine and the oldest surviving copy of Josephus, the Cassel Hegesippus (viii. 1030, 1139); the Old Latin Old Testament is represented by the illuminated Quedlinburg Itala (viii. 1069) and the Freising Pentateuch (ix. 1250), among others, and the Old Latin Gospels by the Breslau Codex Rehdigeranus, destroyed in 1945 (viii. 1073, ix, p. 57), and the Munich Codex Valerianus (ix. 1249); and, among

<sup>1</sup> In *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, lxxxvii (1951-2), 1-72.

<sup>2</sup> I have noticed only one misprint in the

body of the Juvenal text, the ghost-word *praeceptis* in 10. 107.

further members of a distinguished company, there stand out the Codex Fuldensis of the Gospel Harmony (viii. 1196) and the Burchard Gospels (ix. 1423), both of which came to Germany from Italy via England, the Bamberg Cassiodorus (viii. 1029), the unique Würzburg Priscillian (ix. 1431), two magnificent examples of Northumbrian script, the so-called 'Salaberga Psalter' and the Maihingen Gospels from Harburg (viii. 1048, 1215), and two books of the Ada school, the Gospels in Trier and Munich (ix. 1343, 1366.)

On every page of these, as of the earlier, volumes, scripts are compared and attributions to scriptoria suggested. It is interesting to see compared, for instance, the uncial of the Codex Valerianus and the Ashburnham Pentateuch; the minuscule script of the Cologne Job (viii. 1148) and Perugia 2; the South English majuscule of the Cassel Gregory (viii. 1138) and the Corpus glossary. Additions are made to centres whose palaeographical features have long been described: the Munich Alcuin (ix. 1282) is added to the Pacificus Verona manuscripts; three manuscripts (viii. 1072, 1157, ix. 1394) to the manuscripts of Tours; an uncial Gospel book (ix. 1422) is hesitantly attributed to Brittany, making it, if its attribution to the time of the eighth-ninth centuries is correct, perhaps the only surviving manuscript written in that script from a Celtic centre. Many German scriptoria have long been familiar to palaeographers thanks to the work of Lindsay on Lorsch, Dr. Jones on Cologne, and Dr. Bischoff on Bavaria and Würzburg, and Dr. Lowe incorporates these scholars' conclusions and describes the evidence for other less familiar centres like Fulda, Weissenburg, and Murbach, though his account of German scriptoria is inevitably incomplete because of the limiting date of A.D. 800. But these volumes include scripts from nearly every part of the Carolingian and Insular worlds. More possible Saint-Amand books are described, and Arno, abbot of Saint-Amand and bishop, later archbishop, of Salzburg (785-821), now begins to emerge, by virtue of the number and variety of books connected with his rule at both places, as a figure as considerable in the world of Carolingian manuscripts as Alcuin or Theodulf. (It is possible that the Livinus Gospels from Ghent may be added to the list of Saint-Amand Arno manuscripts.) The number of Insular manuscripts here is so great that Lowe declares: 'no definitive study of Insular script can be undertaken without a thorough investigation of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Germany.' And almost as striking in numbers are the manuscripts from north Italy, and from Verona in particular, which are preserved in German libraries, many of them from an early date.

The Latin hands displayed in these volumes extend from the assurance of the first century to the adaptations of the eighth century, and, seen against this variety, the German examples seem, with some important exceptions, as uninspired as the Swiss types already known from Part vii. Qualities like the disciplined exuberance of Northumbria, the formal contortions of Benevento or Luxeuil, are absent from the examples from Cologne or Würzburg, for instance. For this there were two main reasons: first, Christianity—and with it, handwriting—had been late in coming to Germany, and German scripts had had little time to develop by the year 800; second, Christianity had come in differing ways, through Anglo-Saxon missionary work in most centres, through Carolingian political influence everywhere, and through neighbourly north Italian and Burgundian contacts in the south and west; and these varied influences were reflected in the different scripts used,



sometimes in the same scriptorium, sometimes in the same manuscript, and the inevitable result was scribal uncertainty in many places. It is satisfying to find history reflected in the development of German handwriting. The varied palaeographical inheritance of German scribes was made more complex by the fact that the Irish and Anglo-Saxons were unique among barbarians in developing a native majuscule as well as a minuscule script, a fact in itself perhaps indicative of the isolated history of Ireland, and which will be made clearer when the last two parts (x and xi) of *Codices Latini Antiquiores* are published, and this magnificent museum of modern palaeography completed.

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## GREEK DIALECTS

ALBERT THUMB: *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. Zweiter Teil. Zweiter erweiterte Auflage von ANTON SCHERER. Pp. xv+436. Heidelberg: Winter, 1959. Paper, DM. 32.

TWENTY-THREE years passed between the original one-volume edition of Thumb's *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* and the first part of the new edition, revised by Kieckers. After a further twenty-seven years, completing the half-century, the revised second part has made its welcome appearance. The two volumes of the new edition together make a book at least twice the size of the old; nevertheless the general character of the work, the arrangement and numeration of its sections, and a good deal of the original wording survive. This volume deals with those dialects—Aeolic, Arcado-Cyprian, Pamphylian, and Ionic-Attic—for which, as Scherer observes in his preface, there has been the greatest accretion of new texts and theories. The amplification which these have made necessary can be measured at a glance by comparing the bibliographical sections of the old and new editions. In the preface to the first edition Thumb gave restriction on the size of the volume as the reason for the limited number of examples quoted and dialect features discussed. The greater fullness of the new edition is seen not only in its use of more recently discovered texts, but in the much fuller exploitation of those already known to Thumb, as well as in a more nearly complete record of dialect features. Whereas the old §275 set out the Cyprian inflexions under twelve heads in less than three pages, the new section contains twenty-one heads and over six pages. As examples of Scherer's valuable additions and extensions may be mentioned the treatment of hyphaeresis (§311. 12), *νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν* (§311. 28), and nouns in *-εύς* (§312. 6) in the chapter on Ionic. Since the treatment of the literary dialects is not narrowly linguistic (e.g., the sections on Hesiod and Pindar, though included under Boeotian, are not confined to the question of possible Boeotisms), the relevant sections with their bibliographies will be useful to students of literary as well as linguistic history; Homer, for example, receives a bibliography of six pages, which gives a copious selection of works on the problem of the epic language, the history of the text, and metre. Even so, there are omissions, for most of which limitation of space is no doubt accountable. The Boeotian text published in *B.C.H.* lxii. 149 ff. is included (with a wrong reference to *B.C.H.* lii) in the list of inscriptions (§228), but its important early evidence for Boeotian orthography and pronunciation is not used in the appropriate sections (§236. 7 and 22). Page's *Corinna* is missing from the bibliography in §230. Scherer takes *ἀμφιλέ-*

γόντοι (I.G. v. 2. 159) as an Arcadian form without mentioning the generally accepted correction ἀμφιλέγον(ι το)ι (§265. 14). In §311. 4 and 24 on *H* in Ionic there is no reference to M. Lejeune's paper in *R.E.A.* li (1949), 5 ff. nor to A. Schmitt's *Der Buchstabe H im Griechischen*, §322. 12 a, on the third person of the imperative in Attic, omits -ἀνωσαν, -έσθωσαν. The short bibliography of the *Kouř* leaves so much of p. 313 blank that the works of L. R. Palmer and S. G. Kapsomenakis on the language of the later papyri could well have been added. A few points could perhaps have been more fully and accurately expressed. For example, 'Homer kennt kein -αρεσι' (§246. 4) overlooks κτερεσι; it reflects, perhaps, Schwyzler, *Gramm.* i. 564 'Erst nachhomerisch ist -αρεσι' (the correct formulation '-μαρεσι ist nicht homerisch' stands in Schwyzler i. 524, to which Scherer refers).

As he promises in the preface, Scherer does more than record facts and earlier opinions. In many controversial cases he offers his own solution or his own choice between existing views. At the same time the book's very richness in facts, examples, and bibliographical references leaves comparatively little room for routine explanation and comment. On the one hand he finds place for a new transcription and translation of the Cyprian inscription discussed by T. B. Mitford in *Minos*, vi. 37 ff.; on the other he sometimes leaves the reader with a reference to another book or article, not merely for fuller explanations or alternative views, but for any comment at all.

The sections on dialect relationship have undergone considerable rewriting, mainly owing to the recent views of Porzig and Risch on the relation of Ionic-Attic to Arcado-Cyprian and of Aeolic to West Greek. Scherer seems on the whole sympathetic to the new views, especially with regard to Aeolic; for Attic-Ionic the reproduction of Thumb's §284 suggests some degree of reserve. On Pamphylian Scherer reverses the opinion of the first edition, and makes a good case for its originally West Greek character. Relationship of dialects is demonstrated in the usual way by lists of common features, which it is interesting to compare with the corresponding lists in Buck's *Greek Dialects*; they agree in generally ignoring the different evidential value of innovations and inherited features.

The method of arrangement by which each dialect is described separately has been criticized as repetitive and wasteful. Scherer defends it by saying that it best suits the reader who wishes to form a picture of a particular dialect. He could have added that Buck's *Greek Dialects* exists to serve the reader who wishes to survey at a glance the dialect variants of each particular point of phonology and grammar. The chief drawback of the method adopted in the *Handbuch* is not, however, that it is repetitive, but that the aim of giving separate pictures of the Greek dialects is to some extent misleading. Owing partly to the incompleteness with which most are attested, partly to the fact that they did not exist in isolation from one another, it is only by comparison and collective treatment that the nature of each can be seen in a true light. The *Handbuch* tends to put features relevant to the individual character and relationship of a dialect on the same level as those which merely reflect in it phenomena occurring generally or sporadically in Greek as a whole (e.g. under Boeotian, the phenomena of aspiration in §236. 23 and 24). However, the reader who is aware of this drawback can counter it effectively by use of the grammatical index and index of words which, covering both volumes, are very much fuller than those of the first edition.

The most conspicuous difference between the old and new editions is the appendix of nearly fifty pages on Mycenaean. As in the rest of the volume, Scherer takes account of works published until some time in 1958; he provides for the beginner a detailed and up-to-date general introduction to the Mycenaean dialect and the literature on it, and for the specialist a number of new suggestions and personal choices of views. For example, he follows Mühlestein on the *o-ka* tablets (§ 337. 1 a); suggests contamination of a possible pre-Greek title *δύμας* with *-δύμας* in *du-ma*, *po-ru-da-ma-ia*, etc. (§ 337. 1 b); thinks *i-je-re-ja* may be an intentionally defective spelling to distinguish graphically the feminine substantive from the adjectives in *-e-wi-ja* (§ 337. 11 c); takes *a-se-so-si* as perhaps *ἀπορήσονται* from a verb *\*ἀπορέω*, to *ἀπορν* (§ 338. 26). There are a few small points which need correction; e.g. the mention of the apparently irregular spelling *wo-wo* for *d(u)wo* (§ 334. 12) overlooks Palmer's suggestion that the apparent sign-group formerly read *wo-wo* is a single sign, a variant of \*83. In the bibliography (§ 334) there is cited 'G. P. Goold und M. Pope, Preliminary investigation into the cretan linear B-script'; for B read A, or rather delete the entry, which appears correctly later on the same page.

It detracts little from the book's generally high standard of accuracy to mention a few printing errors. § 255. 9 a: *ι* is missing at the beginning of the second line. Ibid. b: the first line contains an obvious transposition of letters. § 262 (p. 115): in the quotation from Strabo read *ἐπεπλέκοντο* for *ἐπεκλέκοντο*. § 264. 6 b: transpose *av* and *ev*. Pp. 133 and 137: read Arkadisch for Kyprisch at the head of the page. § 305 (p. 242, lines 1-2): read Belege for Belebe. § 337. 12 a: read *φέρει* for *γέρει* in the eighth line. These slips were noticed without special search; there may well be others.

In reviewing a work of this kind, it is always easy to find a few points, mostly of small importance, for dissent. It is less easy to express as one would wish one's admiration for Scherer's great erudition and insight, and one's gratitude for the painstaking labour he has contributed to the revision of one of the major works of reference on the history of the Greek language.

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## THE IGUVINE TABLES

JAMES WILSON POULTNEY: *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*. (Philological Monographs, xviii.) Pp. xvi + 333; 4 plates. Baltimore: American Philological Association (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell), 1959. Cloth, 86s. net.

SINCE—regrettably for historians of religion, fortunately for linguists—one of the principal ritual texts of classical antiquity is written in a language otherwise almost unknown, Poultney has performed a notable service to learning in providing the first separate English edition of the Iguvine Tables, an edition in which both language and content are treated on an ample scale; his English translation has the distinction of being the second into a modern language. He uses the work of others with sound eclecticism; 'nullius addictus iurare in uerba magistri', he may side with Devoto (e.g. on *ahti-*, on *dersua* and *mersta*), with Vetter (e.g. on *ereglu*), with Pisani, Pigghi, or R. G. Kent, to whose memory the book is dedicated. Feeling no compulsion to prefer new views to old, he rejects Vetter on *katel*, Devoto on *posti acnu*, returning often to Buck



and even (§ 110c) to von Planta. His own contributions are many (e.g. on *sueso*, *vufetes*, *uatio*, *suboco*, *anderuomu*) and distinguished by clarity and freedom from fantasy.

The introduction deals succinctly with the description and history of the Tables, the style, contents, and chronology of the texts, and the position of the Umbrian language. The Grammar which constitutes the second part of the book gives a full and clear account of Umbrian phonology, morphology, and syntax; there are, however, a few minor inadequacies. The statement that *erek*, etc., 'contain an enclitic combination from *-ik* (§ 106b), can be elucidated from Buck. Oscan forms are usually cited, but not *sefacust*, *avafaker* in §§ 122d, 124b. The evidence of the minor Umbrian inscriptions is used, but not fully; nom. sing. fem. *eso* is omitted from the table of pronouns (p. 109; here too the Iguvine ablatives *uru*, *ura(-ku)* are missing, the acc. pl. neut. *estu esto* misplaced). The *i/o* variation in superlatives *nesimeī*, *hondomu* is not explained, athematic 3rd pl. *\*-enti* is overlooked in § 115d (but see § 122a), and there appears to be no comment on the ablative in *-i* of the consonant-stem *pefi persi*.

The commentary gives full and fair discussion of difficulties without an overwhelming mass of illustrative detail. Every page furnishes examples of judicious and well-balanced treatment of problems, and many suggest questions for further discussion. For example, *etraf* . . . *etraf* in Ia. 18 is replaced by *dupla* . . . *dupla* in the second version, VIb. 18, and is accordingly explained, not without misgiving, as 'two . . . two'. Is it not rather 'the one set . . . the other set', indicating that the two classes of vessels are to be used separately in the rite? In III. 8-9 it might be interesting to consider whether *terkantur* depends on *teitu*, with *sakre uvem* as object of *terkantur*. In IV. 13 *pustin ereclu* the preposition is said to have local force, though it has distributive sense elsewhere (as in Oscan). The local sense, however, may be merely implied by the context; the distributive is certainly not excluded by Poultney's translation 'at their respective statues'. At IV. 27 Poultney adopts Vetter's explanation of *ezariaf antentu* ' . . . place the food-baskets upon (the litter)' partly on the ground that this action, being voluntary, may not be part of the rite. But the introductory *inumelek* 'then' gives it a definite place in the series of acts, and the ceremony is not declared complete until lines 31-32. In VIa. 1 it may be true that *auis aseriat* means 'by observing the birds' rather than 'after observing . . .', but the case is not strengthened by two quotations from Tacitus in which, in addition to differences of period and style, the ablatives absolute follow the main clause.

The translation is excellent; it is easier to feel than to explain the discipline imposed by translation into a modern language instead of into the customary Latin disguise. Poultney does not encumber his version with marks of uncertainty. A few words, including some rather technical than obscure, are kept in the Umbrian. There are a few omissions: in IV. 18 *sevakne*, in Vb. 17-18 *et iesma* are not translated. In VIb. 52 *prepa desua combifiansi ape desua combifiansi* the translator's eye missed the last three words (an omission of a type familiar to textual critics). In IIb. 28 *ape purtuvia* is translated 'while you are presenting it', but paraphrased 'after the *porrectio*' in the note, p. 197; the latter version accords better with the use of *ape* (§ 154b). In VIb. 56 *eno com prinuatir* . . . *ambretuto* is rendered literally 'Then along with the *prinuat* they shall make the circuit'; the meaning is, however, ' . . . he shall make . . . ' (for the syntax see § 138a).

The vocabulary serves also as an index verborum and brief etymological dictionary. A representative selection of the Tables is shown in the plates, which are so good that one wishes all had been included.

The work is not entirely free from slips. On p. 5, line 4 'voiced aspirates' is written instead of 'labial and dental voiced aspirates' (these sounds, moreover, did more than 'merely lose their aspiration' in medial position in Latin). On p. 47, penultimate line, read **fakust** for **fefacust** (*fefacust* is Oscan). On p. 211, column 2, line 35 *non sectis* should surely be deleted. There is a number of misprints, mostly trivial and unlikely to be more than a slight hindrance to the careful reader.

Poultney's work in the field of Umbrian studies, of which this book is a worthy but not, it is to be hoped, final culmination, has well earned the gratitude of all students of Italic language and religion, to whose applause the Atiedian Brothers too would surely have added a sincere **rechte kuratu**.

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## GREEK HISTORY

N. G. L. HAMMOND: *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* Pp. xxiv+689; 12 plates, 34 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. Cloth, 35s. net.

IMMENSE scholarship has gone to the writing of this book and its printing and production match the scholarship. One of its most striking characteristics is the author's decision to support his narrative by references in the footnotes confined almost exclusively to ancient sources, literary, epigraphic, or numismatic. This was a bold decision and only the experience of those who use the book can decide whether it has justified itself. Certainly it is very useful for the specialist to find collected at the foot of the page the main references for the topics treated in the text. Whether it will have the effect of making the general reader go to the original sources himself is more doubtful. And what gain there is has been bought at a high price. Except to draw attention to his own fuller treatment of various topics in learned journals Mr. Hammond has adhered pretty strictly to his rule not to cite modern writers. Paradoxically this method, which might have been expected to underline the fact that history is fundamentally inquiry, has had the contrary effect. The narrative seldom conveys any vivid impression that the subject teems with live issues, whether it be on relatively matter-of-fact questions of chronology or statistics or on estimates of a statesman's or a city's policy or an historian's methods and credibility. Considering the line Hammond has taken on the relative value of references to ancient and to modern literature it is particularly disappointing that he has not drawn together in one chapter his discussions of the various historians, including Aristotle, the Atthidographers, and Plutarch, with a fuller treatment of the problems in historiography which they raise.

I have dwelt at some length on this point of method because it seems to me that Hammond has been hypnotized by it into writing what at times comes near to scissors-and-paste history. He often succumbs to the temptation of accepting without question statements, whether of plain fact or of motive or value, which he finds in the ancient writers, without adequate discussion of the problems to which these statements may give rise. Here are a few examples. Herodotus

implies that when the southern Greeks sent a contingent to defend the pass of Tempe against Xerxes their commanders were unaware that the pass could be turned. Can we believe this and, if we do, does it not shed a dubious light on the vaunted acumen of Themistocles? Herodotus makes it plain that Leonidas had time to withdraw from Thermopylae after he had learned that his position had been turned. Was his refusal to do so on a par in intelligence with the charge of the Light Brigade or had it a respectable strategic purpose? These are questions which have been asked, but not by Hammond for all his interest in military matters. Of the production of the *Oresteia* he writes (p. 289): 'Aeschylus emphasized the integrity and prestige of the Areopagus and warned the Athenians against the dangers of anarchy and strife.' This may be a way of encouraging the reader to think for himself about the significance of what must surely be an oblique reference to contemporary politics by Aeschylus, but it is very unhelpful in guiding him to the lines on which he might direct his thinking. Of Pericles' citizenship law we read (p. 301) 'from 451/450 onwards citizenship was limited to those who were of citizen birth on both sides. Thenceforth the state would be able to control the number of those who were eligible to draw state pay'. Aristotle and Harpocration vouch for the fact and are duly cited; but the motive is far from being as self-evident as Hammond suggests, and a reference to Gomme or Hignett or Jacoby would at least have put the reader on his guard on a matter of some importance.

But perhaps the palmary instance of what I should venture to describe as Hammond's uncritical attitude to ancient 'authorities' (a baneful word) is his treatment of the major strategic issues of the Peloponnesian war. Here heswallows Thucydides whole. Pericles can do no wrong; but we are left with no clear picture of what his intentions at the outset were. 'He aimed at complete victory over the Spartan Alliance and Sparta herself' (p. 348); his strategy, happy man, 'involved Athens in no serious risks and gave an assurance of ultimate victory'. But how exactly was this 'complete victory' to be achieved? In a war of attrition, apparently; but attrition of what? And what sort of peace would have satisfied Pericles? A peace on the lines of the Peace of Nicias? Could a war of attrition have achieved more and was such peace a 'complete victory'? Again when on the advice of Alcibiades, for whose military genius Thucydides at least has some respect, the Athenians determined to use their overwhelming naval strength in an attempt to conquer Sicily they did so 'in the flush of an irrational enthusiasm' and in ignorance of the size of Sicily and of its military strength (p. 390). Yet, even after the foolish removal of Alcibiades from the command, they came within an ace of taking Syracuse and the total destruction of their armaments by no means brought them to their knees. Was the Sicilian expedition, then, an act of senseless folly *ab initio* or a brilliant conception brought to ruin by inept handling? These are questions which the narrative of Thucydides forces upon us, but because Thucydides did not explicitly raise them neither does Hammond.

Once or twice Hammond breaks his rule of silence on modern discussions. Thus though adhering to a late-ninth-century date for the Lycurgan reforms at Sparta, he mentions Wade-Gery's articles arguing for a later date, but not Andrewes's important treatment of *probouleusis* in his Inaugural Lecture. On the dating of the earliest Greek coinages he devotes a short appendix (too short to be effective) to controverting E. S. G. Robinson's dating of the first appearance of coinages in Greece proper to about 625-600 in favour of dates



about half a century earlier. But he finds no room to mention Kraay's article in *Num. Chron.* xvi (1956), which, if accepted, rules out an Athenian coinage anywhere near so early as 594, the usually accepted date for Solon's legislation. On p. 528, n. 2, he quotes Gomme, *Population of Athens*, for a total population in 323 of 258,000. In the text he has given an estimated total population for c. 360 as 400,000. He says nothing to account for this spectacular fall of about 140,000 in thirty-seven years.

All these points taken severally may seem trifling, but they arise from a failure to strike a right balance between the detailed narrative of facts and the interpretation of the facts. Some pruning of the narrative, especially of the early fourth century and perhaps of some of the battle pieces, excellent as these are in themselves, would have allowed more room for exposition where the 'authorities' do not give facts that speak for themselves. This is especially the case in the early chapters, where the interpretation of the evidence is endlessly complex. For example, on the early coinages Hammond writes on p. 133 'all these coinages were valued at the real value of their silver, electrum, or gold content, and the cost price of silver, for example, varied from place to place and from time to time. . . . In consequence the precise weights of coins in different states varied.' This is a most intricate topic, but Hammond has simply not given himself enough space to make clear what his point is. His whole account of the early constitutional history of Athens is highly idiosyncratic and needed much fuller treatment to become intelligible. His paragraphs on pp. 156 f. on the work of Draco serve only to darken this dark corner of legal history. In cases of involuntary homicide 'the "kings" inquire into the case, and the fifty-one judges of appeal make a preliminary verdict.' This kind of statement gets us nowhere. Nor this on Solon on p. 162: 'at first the Heliæa probably judged only cases of appeal and inflicted additional sentences. But it also heard appeals against the magistrates, and later it came to audit the acts of magistrates at the end of their year of office, which were probably still scrutinized by the Areopagus Council in the time of Solon.' Even greater mystery shrouds his conception of Cleisthenes' reform of the tribal system. He regards it as the most important change Cleisthenes made. Fundamentally it was a change in the electoral system, 'for it ensured to the individual citizens the right of voting as individuals free from outside pressure' (p. 190). Yet, as he points out, the very hub of the electoral system, the election of archons, was unaffected by the change and, although the new system was applied to the election of generals from 501 (on the assumption, that is, that Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* c. 22, means that they were appointed by, and not merely out of, each tribe), we are told on p. 218 that in their case the main aim, the elimination of improper pressure by the great clans, was not achieved. It seems paradoxical that so elaborately designed an instrument was specifically not applied where its application would have been most effective and Hammond might at least have alluded to the possibility that the reform had little to do with elections, but was primarily an army reform, designed to secure that when the people was assembled in arms each regiment represented a cross-section of the whole male citizen population of Attica.

To set against these deficiencies—and they may well be deficiencies only visible to the biased eye of a reviewer with his own particular interests—the book has many excellences. The introduction, on the geography of the Greek peninsula and the islands, is a model of its kind—and it is a very difficult kind.

Book I, on the early civilizations and the migrations in Greece, contains a great deal of valuable and up-to-date material not otherwise easily available to the general reader. For this period, but alas for this period alone, there is a short bibliography. The tactical descriptions of battles and, in particular, the account of Alexander's campaigns will be of the greatest value to military historians. The eight appendixes contain much serviceable matter, notably Appendix 3 with its tables of colonies in various areas with their founding cities and approximate dates of foundation. Finally the figures, maps, and plates are finely produced and have been admirably selected to illustrate the text.

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## GREEK PIETY AND GREEK WARFARE

HARALD POPP: *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegführung der Griechen im 5 und 4 Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Pp. 144. Erlangen: Merkel, 1959. Paper, DM. 12.

HERE is a useful if limited and, in one respect, slightly irritating book; useful, like most competent dissertations, in that it presents a complete, well-organized collection of material not previously studied in isolation, limited because Dr. Popp has been restricted to the study of only two kinds of religious influence (that of *auspicia*, *oblative* and *impetrative*, and festivals) on one aspect of political life (warfare) in one period of Greek history (c. 500–350 B.C.), irritating because he has had to include discussions of matters which are of no interest whatsoever (we do not need two or three pages to tell us that the Athenians in 428 or Phoibidas in 382 were prepared, like Kylon or the Good Sir James, to take advantage of a feast-day). Much more rewarding would be a more ambitious work (Popp's introduction perhaps implies that he has such a work in mind) which would include, for example, the far richer evidence of oracles, and take in all departments of political life; a work, moreover, which did not stop, as Popp tends to do, at a well-documented analysis of particular cases where there is direct testimony to the workings of religion, which asked (a), for example, whether we know enough of the Spartan Calendar during the Peloponnesian War to fit the Karneia into the annual campaigns (did Brasidas march for Thrace after the Karneia of 424?), and (b) whether any generalizations can be made about Greek behaviour of a kind less superficial than some of Popp's.

In most of the particular cases his procedure and conclusion are broadly the same: an account of the evidence, a criticism of the sceptics, an affirmation of faith; this or that state or commander acted or failed to act for genuine religious reasons. Only a very stubborn sceptic will finish the book without the feeling that in a majority of cases Popp must be right. He may not have been convinced or even shaken by Popp's reasoning, sensible though it usually is, for there is little that is new, less that is startling, and nothing that is conclusive; but he should at least have realized that he has the ancient evidence against him (and the Greeks were not slow to impute religious fraud) and ought to admit that among all these examples there must be a fair number of genuine cases, if only to explain the false.

But suppose they are all genuine. Are we much farther forward? Can we

at once accept, for example, Popp's general verdict on the Spartans: τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῖντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν? A genuine religious reason is what appears as such to the agent. But *auspicia oblativa* have to be noticed, *impehativa* interpreted, and even rules written down in the god's own hand (Remember the Sabbath day . . .) do not appear to impose either uniform or consistent behaviour on the faithful. Between the conscious fabrication of a religious excuse and the firm belief in the word of god (general or *ad hoc*) which produces action against the agent's own desires (this alone justifies the word πρεσβύτερα) there are many degrees of innocent or even semi-conscious self-deception. At each of these intermediate levels the religious reason may be called genuine; in some its influence will be almost nil.

If, with this in mind, Popp were to reconsider, for example, his account of the Karneia at the time of Thermopylae he would see that, if the troops sent under Leonidas seemed sufficient to the Spartans (as he admits, p. 92), he cannot claim, without more argument than he produces, that the Karneia had any effect at all on Spartan behaviour. He would also see that Busolt's point (the Spartans, having ignored the Karneia by sending Leonidas, could easily have ignored it completely and sent more troops) cannot be set aside as lightly as he does, and that, suitably rephrased, it becomes a question which he should answer (if the Spartans could persuade themselves that the gods would condone an infringement of the rules, why could they not persuade themselves that they would similarly condone a total disregard of them?). Perhaps no answer is possible, but only by asking it and similar questions are we likely to find out anything at all about the influence of religion on Greek politics.

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## ROME IN THE EYES OF THE GREEKS

JONAS PALM: *Rom, Römertum und Imperium in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit*. (Skr. utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, lvii.) Pp. 136. Lund: Gleerup, 1959. Paper, kr. 15.

How was the Roman Empire thought of by those who lived in it and were not Romans? H. Fuchs wrote a book about one side of this question just before the war, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom*, the 'ideological opposition' to Rome; but, rebellions apart, and Jews and early Christians apart, it is difficult to do more than pick up an odd fact or a chance remark here and there. Some obvious literature of *Widerstand* survives, such as the Sibylline Oracles and the Acts of the Pagan Martyrs—and discourages generalization, especially along class lines. (The Alexandrian resistance was an upper-class movement, see Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, pp. 273 ff.) We possess at least the writings of some of the literary intellectuals, but they all belong to the area of Greek culture, and we can deduce what, for example, the upper-class Britons thought of Rome only from the nature and extent of their imitations. Even of the attitude of the hellenized intellectuals estimates have varied surprisingly. Did they think of Rome as having swamped Greek civilization, or as sharing it, or as contributing anything of her own? Did they feel themselves to be part of a total and united civilization as against the βάρβαροι, or subjects of an alien, however beneficent, power?



Dr. Palm re-examines Greek writers from Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Johannes Lydus, and successfully challenges the views of Fuchs and others, both on particular points and in his general conclusion, which is that 'under the Empire no anti-Roman bias is to be found in the writings of the Greek intellectuals'. Hostility to particular individuals, censure for certain Roman habits (mostly those censured by the Roman satirists themselves), pride in upholding the Hellenic tradition and contempt for Greeks who abandon it—these attitudes can of course be found; but out-and-out hostility to Rome, directed against the Empire as such, cannot, at least in these sources. On the other hand, as Palm shows, with the exception of the historians and Plutarch the Greek writers occupy themselves with Roman things extraordinarily little. They do not regard *romanitas* as inimical, but neither do they regard it as something from which to learn or profit. Being very willing to show Rome good they 'deromanize' Rome, on the assumption that what is good is at least in origin Greek. Nevertheless they come in the end to call the whole Empire *ἡμεῖς* as against the barbarian.

Palm defends Plutarch's *de fortuna Romanorum* and numerous passages of Dio Chrysostom against the charge of anti-Romanism; and he performs the like service with particular success for Lucian's *Nigrinus*, which he shows to be an attack not on Roman lack of culture but on 'die Unkultur überhaupt'—it reads in fact very like Juvenal and Petronius. Moreover, Lucian appears as the first Greek author to use *ἡμεῖς* and *ἡμέτερος* of the Empire. Palm oddly says nothing about ps.-Longinus *περὶ ὑψους*, a surprising omission because the reference to Cicero in that work brings home a point of relevance. One of the most obvious peculiarities about the Greek writers of the Empire is the way in which they ignore Roman literature (educated Romans knew Greek, but few Greeks knew Latin); but *περὶ ὑψους* 12. 4 indicates a very subtle relationship: Cicero is 'your' author and Demosthenes 'ours', and Cicero is introduced with an air of modesty, *εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς Ἕλλησιν ἐφέται τι γινώσκων*, but the modesty is obviously humorously false, and the critic speaks of Cicero's qualities with confident understanding and full consciousness that they are of stature to set beside those of Demosthenes. It would also have been worth mentioning that in the discussion of literary decadence with which our texts of *περὶ ὑψους* end the critic concludes that it is not loss of freedom that has inhibited the rise of true genius (though evidently there are some who believe this to be so) but the love of money—a conclusion also arrived at by the elder Pliny in accounting for the decline of academic research (*N.H.* ii. 117–18). By and large, however, the language barrier was crucial. Thus, as Palm shows, Libanius, for whom the Empire was 'we' and, in relation to barbarians, *οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι*, was nevertheless 'ethnically an Antiochene, culturally a Greek, and politically a Roman'.

Some Christian authors of the late Empire are briefly discussed, to illustrate their satisfaction with the Empire and self-identification with it in much the same terms and degree as contemporary pagans. The whole constitutes a valuable and sensible book, whose author would be the first to agree that it does not justify extrapolation beyond the limited 'Kulturkreis' it sets out to investigate.

## ANTIOCH

A. J. FESTUGIÈRE: *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie*. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 194.) Pp. 540. Paris: de Boccard, 1959. Stiff paper, 35 fr.

THE coexistence, in the society of fourth-century Antioch, of Christianity and paganism is a subject on which Fr. Festugière's opinions could not fail to be instructive. Admittedly his book lacks unity and, apart from being concerned with the life of a particular city at a particular period, derives what coherence it possesses chiefly from the mind of the author. Except for geographical proximity and mutual antipathy there is nothing to connect the urbane classroom of Libanius with the Syriac-speaking monks, living in ascetic squalor in caves or in the open air near Antioch. This book brings together these and other equally strange bedfellows. The manifold variety of Antiochene life is portrayed by a single artist with such skill that those who could scarcely have conversed with one another on any topic are discovered to have one friend in common in whose mind and affection they seem to have an equal place. To write with deep discernment and sympathy about both Julian and Symeon Stylites is a remarkable achievement. It is this power of understanding and sympathy in Fr. Festugière which gives his *Stromateis* a distinctive character.

First we are introduced to the topography of the city itself by a translation of parts of Libanius' *Antiochicus*, with a useful archaeological commentary by R. Martin. The version is to be set beside the complete translation, provided with briefer notes, lately published by G. Downey (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* ciii. 5, Oct. 1959). Next there follows a kindly sketch of Julian's unhappy relations with the city; then an account of Libanius' educational ideals and a demonstration of his continuing interest in the success of his pupils after they had gone out into the world. There is interesting material here on 'how to get on in society' at this period. Admirable as Libanius' ideals were, he was troubled by the moral education of his pupils, distracted by horse-racing and theatres, and vulnerable to homosexual attack. That homosexuality was a social problem at Antioch is here proved in detail from Libanius and John Chrysostom (the point might be reinforced from *Misopogon* 359-60). John, faced with much Christian criticism of the ascetic movement, answered the critics by arguing (a) that one became a monk to save one's soul, and (b) that a temporary sojourn with a monastic community would arm a boy against the insidious dangers of his city education. Fr. Festugière wisely comments that the two arguments lie together uneasily, but he unnecessarily suggests that the gravity of the homosexual problem explains the absoluteness of John's argument that the ascetic life is the only safe way of salvation. No more elaborate explanation of the argument is required than that John happened to think it true.

This discussion leads into the second part of the book, which retells from Theodoret the stories of the early Syrian monks, notably Symeon Stylites whose earliest 'Lives' are translated. In this strange world extreme asceticism is believed to be accompanied by miraculous powers, and the spirit of ostentation and competition has crept in. John Chrysostom writes idyllic pictures of the monastic life; but they are statements of his ideals, set forth for the reproof of the city population absorbed in money-making and entertainment. The reality must often have been nasty and brutish. Nevertheless, the influence

of the hermit upon the people was vast; and perhaps the city clergy did not find their own situation easy. Bishop Flavian of Antioch felt it right to ordain the monk Macedonius not only against his will but even without his knowledge, since the holy man knew no Greek and could not follow the service. (At Constantinople in the next century Daniel the Stylite was in like circumstances ordained against his will, but at least he knew what the patriarch was doing.) Despite the hostility to cultivated society which appears within monasticism, there are noteworthy instances of philosophical commonplaces in Theodoret's stories which illustrate the presence of continuity even here.

Fr. Festugière recognizes, of course, that the pagans and the Christians did not approve of one another. Perhaps because both are alike interesting to him he does not fully indicate the depth of the tension. It is scratching the surface of the problem to suggest that Julian and Libanius regarded polytheism and *paideia* as indissolubly connected because the Christian emperors had been neglectful of Greek literature (p. 239). Admittedly Julian's antipathy to Christianity is bound up with his hatred of Constantius and with the peculiarities of his psyche. Libanius, on the other hand, does not appear to have been a man of deep personal piety (p. 230), and his attitude to pagan cult seems to have been akin to Chateaubriand's argument for Catholicism that, whether true or not, it is at least beautiful. He regarded Christianity as destructive of beauty, and the behaviour of the monks in the time of Theodosius confirmed his worst suspicions. Nevertheless, the attack of Libanius and Julian is directed against the uneducated manifestations of Christianity, just as the Christian attack on paganism concentrates upon the beliefs of the masses and upon the polytheistic mythology associated therewith. At the educated level it is as if the humanists and the Christians found themselves allies against their will. Sozomen's story that when asked on his deathbed who should succeed him Libanius replied 'John, if the Christians had not stolen him', is no doubt not authentic, but its significance does not depend on its historicity.

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## GREAT CENTURIES OF VASE-PAINTING

MARTIN ROBERTSON: *Greek Painting*. Pp. 196; 100 illustrations in colour. Geneva: Weber, 1959. Cloth, £7. 15s. net.

THE loss of Greek painting—of pictures, that is, not vases—is nearly total. But much can be learnt from painted metopes, stelai, and plaques, though these are mostly simply composed and poorly executed, from wall-paintings in Etruscan and Hellenistic tombs, which are generally provincial or incompetent in style, from Roman copies and adaptations of uncertain reliability, from reflections in vase-painting, and from descriptions and comments in literature. By the use of these sources it is possible to discover something about the history (if not the quality) of Greek painting, as Rumpf in particular has shown in his *Malerei und Zeichnung*; but since the argument must be intricate and the illustrations often scrappy or conjectural, such a study would hardly fit into the scheme of the Skira series. For this reason, presumably, Robertson has preferred to present attractive plates and to take some liberty with his title. The subject of this handsome book is substantially an appreciation of human



figures and groups on Attic vases, with occasional reference to the painting of pictures.

The first chapter is indeed on wall-painting—in Crete and Greece during the Bronze Age. Robertson's account is short and to the point. He does not pretend seriously that they have any relevance to Hellenic painting; but since they would not justify a Skira volume on their own, it is reasonable to include them on a geographical plea.

The next five chapters take us through a selection of Attic vase-paintings from the middle of the eighth to the end of the fifth century, with a glance at some later South Italian pottery; the divisions are made at about 630, 530, 480, and 450 B.C. A final chapter gives a straightforward but poorly illustrated summary of Hellenistic painting.

Robertson's eye is keen and careful, and the discursive commentary on the vases he illustrates is usually sound and sometimes illuminating. Good instances are the comparison of the Argive and Attic versions of the blinding of Polyphemus (pp. 44-45) and—for painting—the juxtaposition of the kraters illustrated on pp. 124-5. A few minor criticisms may be made. It is odd to suggest that the Geometric pots of pp. 34 and 38 might be of the ninth century; the shape of p. 38 is a bowl (krater) rather than a jar (amphora); and a few pots were painted with figures in Corinth after 550 (p. 81).

In his references to painting Robertson was restricted by his illustrations. He accepts the common opinion that this art began in Greece about the middle of the seventh century and that its influence can be discovered in those vase-paintings of that time which show a wider range of colours (most notably a light brown for human flesh) or unusually crowded compositions. Unfortunately few of these adaptations, which incidentally appear in Attic and 'Melian' as well as in Corinthian, are suitable for photographing in colour: the surface is discoloured or damaged, or the curve of the shape conceals too much of the scene. This explains why the illustrations of the Chigi vase are taken from the belly and not the shoulder, and why such small pieces as the Macmillan aryballos or some still more polychrome late Protoattic pots have been omitted. But it might have been worth showing instead of the detail of p. 80 one of the more elaborate compositions of Corinthian red-figure, or perhaps the wedding procession on the François vase, which from its similarity to the fragments by Sophilos might be indebted to some larger painting. The white-ground style of the next century, which is very relevant for one aspect of Classical painting, is illustrated generously; Robertson refers to the comparable wall-paintings of the Farnesina villa, but does not mention that there the drapery is shaded. For shading of the body by the end of the fifth century the Talos vase deserves at least a mention. But by then Greek vase-painting had lost much of its aesthetic appeal.

In discussions of Greek painting it is usually assumed that the human figure was dominant and the setting was subordinated to it: the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing at Tarquinia is dismissed as of Italian inspiration and the Odyssey landscapes remain a charming innovation. But it seems to me possible that some sort of landscape with figures may have been a respectable branch of painting from the later Archaic period onwards. The white-ground cups of the Sotades painter (pp. 129-31, two of them, I regret, shown only in excerpts) present men and women reduced to the scale of their surroundings; and the occasional planting of (for example) palm-trees in black-figure and red-figure

vase-paintings suggests a livelier interest in vegetation in some other art. Another common assumption that seems to me unfortunate is that anything painted on a wall is a wall-painting: such designs as that of p. 177 surely should be relegated to interior decorating, as (I fancy) Robertson would agree.

Robertson's style is clear and literary. The plates are generous in scale and neat, but to judge by comparison with the originals in the British Museum most of them are too dark in tone and rather muddy in texture, and on p. 64 the raised details of the negro's hair have been blacked out. Further, the cutting out of the tondo of several cups leaves the picture embarrassingly unframed. The production of the book is good. This volume should encourage its readers to look more closely at Attic red-figure and black-figure vases.

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## THE GREEK HEROES

C. KERÉNYI: *Myth and Man: The Heroes of the Greeks*. Pp. xxxi+439; 76 plates. London: Thames & Hudson, 1959. Cloth, 35s. net.

ON the dustcover of this handsome book the publishers claim that 'together with the classic *Gods of the Greeks*, which it actually exceeds in scope and size, the *Heroes* constitutes the only authoritative, up-to-date assessment of the substance out of which Western civilization was moulded, and the first work fully to interpret the essential character of Antiquity'. What the book, in fact, does is to present, as a sequel to the author's *Gods*, the second part of a Mythology of the Greeks for Adults, that is to say, as he explains in the introduction to the *Gods* (p. 1), a Mythology which is not concerned like Gruppe's with sources and origins and hence useful to scholars, nor expurgated and hence suitable for children, but presenting in a continuous narrative the stories of the Greek Heroes as they were known throughout antiquity. Book 1 contains the older tales, Cadmus and Harmonia, the Dioscuri, Danaus and the Danaids, Perseus, Tantalus, Pelops and Hippodameia, Salmoneus, Melanippe and Tyro, Sisyphus and Bellerophontes, Phrixus and Helle, Oedipus, Meleager and Atalanta. Book 2 deals with Heracles, his birth, youth, labours and their sequel, Book 3 with the later tales, Cecrops, Erechtheus and Theseus, Jason and Medea, Orpheus and Eurydice, Tereus, Eumolpus and Cephalus, Amphiarus and the Theban War, and, finally, the Trojan War. There is, apart from the introduction, no assessment, authoritative, up to date, or otherwise; no interpretation, just the plain narrative. It seems clear that if Mr. Thames read the book, Mr. Hudson wrote the advertisement.

What can be the justification for retelling all these tales in plain narrative? Good though many of them are, the reader cannot help feeling that they are not meant to be told like this, extracted from their sources and set forth without respect to them. They are the stuff of particular poetry and particular plays, *tragodoumena*, or, alternatively, the subject of a particular example of the art of the vase painter. Told plainly like this they are not only tedious, but irritatingly tedious. Some people enjoy reading dictionaries, but these at least have the satisfaction of demonstrating the extent of the human powers. With Kerényi we have a classical dictionary *designed*, apparently, to be read continuously.

The sources have to be discovered, if one is curious, by reference first to notes at the end of the book and then in most cases to a second list of highly original abbreviations. Only the magnificent collection of illustrative vase-paintings is proof against extraction, and provides, like the passages of direct translation for readers who can recognize them, refreshment by the way. Kerényi's claim is that his books do not 'mask the ancient tradition so brilliant in its realism' by any concessions to the desire to know the sources and their mutual relations. But this concentration on content, 'the experimental attempt to translate the mythology of the Greeks, to some extent at least, into its original medium, into mythological *storytelling*' (*Gods*, introd., p. 4), presupposes that the story is interesting by itself apart from its historical, ethnological, and literary origins. The value of Kerényi's books lies in the validity of this position.

In the preface to the *Heroes* Kerényi claims that his task is to reveal 'a whole world' 'which lies between the mouth of the Guadalquivir and the Caucasus, over a space of time beginning about 1500 B.C. and lasting for at least two thousand years. It carried the glory of great gods and goddesses in the shape of their sons, who were venerated as heroes. It is part of that history which we may call our own, in the sense of the common inheritance which enables us to remember and adopt it. On the basis of the results of psychologists I doubt if it be possible to eliminate such a portion of history entirely, and as a historian I would account it a falsifying of the general history of mankind to wish to suppress the history of it.' This passage is a comparatively intelligible example of Kerényi's curiously baffling style, to which the reader's first reaction is to look to see if the original German text is obtainable. Unfortunately it is not. His second is to recognize that the translator has done his best. Kerényi appears to say that by fitting together the tales of the heroes in a straight narrative he is somehow writing the history of a period (from 1500 B.C. to A.D. 500?). Some people unnamed (mathematicians, engineers, the editor of the *Daily Express*?) want to forget about this period, but in the name of psychology and the history of mankind he says them nay.

The stories then are interesting in themselves because they are in some sense historical. Although it might be thought that the stories of the gods had still less connexion with history, he declares in the introduction to the *Gods*: 'the object of this book is to invest Greek mythology with as much historical concreteness as it can nowadays be given' (i.e. apparently, by 'the concretizing of what is to be found in the historical sources'). In the introduction to the *Heroes* again he asserts: 'we cannot on principle deny factual existence, historicity, to the heroes', although they are also 'prototypes' and outside history. Historical elements there may be in Greek mythology, but not enough, surely, to justify telling the whole story over again from beginning to end, without any indication of what the teller regards as historical or not, and in what sense.

The stories are interesting in and by themselves in the second place because of the importance given to them 'on the basis of the results of psychologists'. Kerényi does not enlarge in the *Heroes* on this pregnant phrase, relying no doubt on the reader's memories of the *Gods*. There (introd., p. 2 f.) he quotes the view that the characteristics of myth are, like dreams, a reproduction of the Unconscious, that myth has the effect of an activity of the psyche externalized in images, that a great mythology, like the Greek, is a collective psychology. His aim then is to rescue 'the entire mythological legacy of the Greeks', which



can be regarded as a single thing, from 'the superficial psychology of previous presentations' (i.e. to children, scholars), and reveal it 'as material *sui generis* and having its own laws' to adults. Kerényi explains his method elsewhere (*Introduction to a Science of Mythology*, pp. 174-5): 'There are two ways of considering connexions . . . between Erinyes and the rulers of the Underworld. One way begins with the dispersed state of the various aspects of the gods and believes in a *subsequent* mythological combination of them, with the result that mythology is understood at best as a co-ordinating and embellishing activity of the mind. Our way is opposed to this. It begins with the mythological ideas, which are easily recognised by their pristine *richness and many-sidedness*. Mythology is then understood as the mind's creation of gods in the sense that something of validity is brought into the world. The realities that disclose themselves to the mind are timeless. The forms in which they disclose themselves are stages in a process of (budlike) unfolding, and every unfolding tends ultimately towards dissolution. The primary thing for us is not this final state, not the Erinyes as spirits of vengeance, or Demeter and Persephone existing independently side-by-side, but the historical *Demeter Erinyes* who contains in herself her own Kore figure—Persephone.' These 'great mythological archetypes', 'prototypes', or, as we might call them, figures of universal myth, arise, he seems to say here, from the Unconscious, although in another context (*Intro. to a Science of Mythology*, p. 82) he is prepared to leave undecided in principle whether these archetypes arose from the human mind or whether there was a definite geographical focus of culture where they were created, content here as elsewhere to have the best of both the worlds of history and psychology.

In the introduction to his *Gods* Kerényi expresses the hope that he may find 'readers whose understanding has been matured by the literature and psychology of our time'. But it is not only adulthood in this sense which will bring assent to Kerényi's views: a high degree of selectivity in those studies will be necessary too. The study of Greek religion, and of the texts which come most readily to hand, e.g. the *Theogony*, suggests that the traditional stories of gods and heroes are likely to have arisen from attempts to give an account in anthropomorphic terms of the relations of the various divine beings, who owe their variety as well as their divinity to the social cults of an ethnologically diversified population. The stories in their gross formulation are not thus, in any intelligible sense, a collective psychology. The gross formulation with which Kerényi presents us is at best a product of syncretism, lacking, as a whole, significance to any but the reader who shares his peculiar philosophical position. Not extrication from the sources of 'the entire mythological legacy of the Greeks', but the study of the way in which the stories are employed by different authors; not the collective psychology, but the social rituals and religious beliefs of the various ethnological elements of Greece, are likely to provide the paths by which the stories of the Gods and Heroes may be fruitfully assessed and interpreted. And it is assessment and interpretation that we need.

## DRAGONS AND ALL DEEPS

JOSEPH FONTENROSE: *Python. A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins*. Pp. xviii+617; 7 plates, figs., 3 maps. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1959. Cloth, £4 net.

THIS large and very learned work is the climax of a long series of studies of the cult and myths of Apollo. Its fundamental proposition, with which the reviewer agrees, is that the slaying by the god of Python (or Delphyne) is but the Greek form, or rather one of the Greek forms, of the primeval battle between a god and a formidable monster inimical to the cosmos as it now exists. This in turn is, of course, but one of the many creation-myths which explain how the world got its present form, and in many parts of the earth are solemnly retold year after year, often in a highly dramatic manner, in order to keep things as they are and prevent a retrogression to a condition in which, for instance, there was no sun, or men were confined underground. It is easy enough to see that there are resemblances between, for instance, Apollo on the one hand, Tiamat on the other, especially when the Delphic dragon is female; and they were pointed out many years ago, unfortunately with Panbabylonian dressings enough to make them unpalatable to the more moderate. But Fontenrose is not content with saying that the two tales are alike and that parallels can be found for them. Analysing the story, he finds ten principal themes, each of which he subdivides until there is a total of forty-two motifs (pp. 9 ff.), and uses this analysis as a basis for comparison; for obviously if two complicated legends agree in, say, three-quarters of their details, they are likelier to have a common source, or one of them to be a variant of the other, than if they had but half or even two-thirds in common. References to the analysis occur throughout the book.

But Apollo and the dragon do not exhaust his Greek material, and he not only finds (p. 21) five different accounts of the fight, in one of which the opponent is become a human brigand named Python or Drakon, but he sets about an elaborate investigation into other combats, not always involving Apollo. He begins (p. 22) with the god's battle against Tityos, then passes to Phorbas and Phlegyas, next has a chapter on 'Kyknos and Other Bad Characters', and then another on 'Python and His Derivatives', with a fresh analysis, this time into nineteen motifs (pp. 47-67). Now come other formidable opponents of the gods, headed by Typhon, whose resemblances to Python get a chapter of their own (v), and the next chapter treats of sundry female kin of Delphyne. Having thus listed all Greek accounts of a struggle between a god or hero (Herakles, of course, has his share) and a monster of some kind, he passes to the Near East, where the Hittite traditions are given their due, together with the tales from Ras Shamra. Then comes Mesopotamia, and then Egypt and India are included in a forty-page chapter (ix); the discussions throughout are of sufficient length, but not unnecessarily wordy. Naturally Horos and Set-Typhon must be considered, but Indra and Vritra deserve, and get, their examination. Chapter x, 'Chaos and Cosmos', is one of analysis and comparison, helped by a table and containing characters so apparently disparate as Gilgamesh and Jack of the beanstalk.

Now the discussion returns to Greece, and Chapters xi and xii treat respectively of Perseus and Kadmos and of Herakles. Here and in many other places

I find small details with which I am out of agreement. For instance, p. 300 accepts as genuinely Pindaric Bowra's fr. 296, the tale that Proitos (Fontenrose suggests that it may have been really Danaos) debauched Danae. Bowra himself warns his readers that Schroeder does not think the fragment genuine, and it seems to me a piece of rationalization which Pindar, if he had ever heard it, would not stoop to. On p. 303, again, it is assumed as probable that 'in all these cities' (where cults connected with Perseus existed) 'the rites of Perseus or Athena included a flute-played *thrénos*', when the lack of positive evidence gives us no warrant to say more than, at most, that such a thing is possible. I mention these trifles, and could mention more, as examples of the petty faults, in *pulchro corpore naevus*, which here and there slightly disfigure the author's generally sound and cogent reasoning. That such small matters are thought worthy of note at all is surely evidence of the high quality of the bulk of the work. On the border-line between solid fact and small inadequacies lie many interesting speculations, such as the remarks, thick-set in pp. 323 ff., on the original forms and relationships of the Labours of Herakles, legitimate conjectures all, but not of a kind to ruin the main argument though they should every one be adjudged wrong.

Chapter xiii lies in the realm of legitimate conjecture, for it treats of 'earlier forms of the Delphic myth', considering such matters as the true nature of the nymph Telphusa and, much more controversial, the original relations of Dionysos with Delphoi and its inhabitants, whether divine or monstrous, a subject which quite literally takes the inquirer into the inaccessible land of the Hyperboreans. The next two chapters are still more decidedly Delphic, since they deal respectively with 'the Corycian cave' and 'the rituals'. They are in nowise confined to Delphoi, nor to Greece, for they involve consideration of topics ranging from Dionysos Liknites (p. 461, where mention should have been made of Nilsson's recent study) to the works of Gregory of Tours.

And so, on p. 465, the author reaches his 'conclusion', which is briefly stated thus: 'We have found that the Apollo-Python myth and the Zeus-Typhon myth are two closely related expressions of a single antecedent myth, itself a member of a myth family that ranged over most of Europe and Asia.' On this follow (pp. 465-6) sixteen subsidiary conclusions, none so self-evident as to be beyond controversy. This done, pp. 477-549 are devoted to a series of six appendixes, none trivial and one having a note (II, p. 484) containing a remarkable rarity for this work, a false reference; its second line sends the reader to Aesch. *P.V.* 677-81 for what is actually to be found *ibid.* 567-70. Most references are meticulously accurate, as references should be but so often are not.

All in all, this is a work no one can afford to be without if he is interested in Apollo, the history of his cult, the exploits of Herakles and other heroes, or cosmic myths, Greek or barbarian.

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## SYMBOLISM IN GREECE?

CLÉMENTINE RAMNOUX: *La nuit et les enfants de la nuit de la tradition grecque*. Pp. 275. Paris: Flammarion, 1959. Paper, 9.50 fr.

THIS work belongs to a series bearing the ominous general title *Symboles*, and



informing us, in a statement printed on the cover, that 'la présence de symboles, signes énigmatiques et d'expression mystérieuse dans les traditions religieuses, les œuvres d'art, les contes et les coutumes du folklore, atteste l'existence d'un langage universellement répandu'. This the reviewer thoroughly disbelieves, if the word 'symbol' is to be given any exact meaning. The user of a symbol must have something to symbolize, as when he lets a flag or an allegorical figure stand for his country, or a cross or crescent for his faith. If we try to analyse the meaning which Mlle Ramnoux seems to attach to it, apparently it comes to no more than this, that in early times Greeks, like other peoples, were not capable of much abstract thought, and therefore spoke of and conceived personal powers, gods or others, and not impersonal forces or disembodied ideas, such as philosophers of later date dealt in. To trace the passage from one state of mind to the other is a fascinating but very difficult task, and the authoress has hardly the learning and experience to succeed in it, though she must be credited with some perfectly sound ideas, especially that the two manners of thought existed for ages side by side, according as a particular writer was more inclined towards the newer analytical manner or the older theological constructions.

She begins with an elaborate analysis of Hesiod's *Theogony*, especially lines 115-38 and 211-32. Or, to be more accurate, she proceeds to this after an introductory chapter on 'les nuits saintes de la Grèce', into which she piles everything from cult or literature which seems to refer to anything nocturnal. Incidentally, she falls into the ancient blunder (p. 39) of supposing that cremation and inhumation connote different eschatological beliefs, as elsewhere (e.g. pp. 141, 166, 225) she revives the wearisome nonsense about traces of mother-right allegedly surviving in classical Greece. Hesiod, then, is subjected to much analysis, and the hands of several interpolators detected; plausible enough, for the poem is loosely constructed, and some one, whether the author himself or a later reciter or redactor, certainly has rewritten some passages. Besides much else, she elaborately discusses the offspring of Night, which forms the foundation of much of the rest of the book. A great deal of Night's mythology is the result of two simple facts, one that certain things happen rather by night than by day, the other that Greeks reckoned from sunset to sunset, and therefore it was natural to think of Night as the mother of Day or Sun, as is done most eloquently in Soph. *Trach.* 94 ff. These considerations are neglected in favour of supposed theologizings of the clergy of various shrines ('discussions passionnées à l'ombre des sanctuaires', p. 192), of which the reviewer finds little or no evidence earlier than the famous passage in Plato, *Meno* 81 a 10-12.

Coming now to Aeschylus, she spends two chapters, pp. 108-93, in tracing the Hesiodic, or a similar, doctrine in the *Oresteia*. The analysis involves pressing into service minute passing expressions of the poet, often distorted from their plain meaning. Confidence in the authoress's abilities is not increased by her declaring (p. 166) that Hermes never appears on the scene (despite *Eum.* 89 ff.), and it is a little irritating to have Phrixos misspelled with a *y* (p. 158); but it is to her credit that she pertinently brings into the discussion several passages of the pre-Socratics, especially Heraclitus, which suggest Hesiodic thought in process of translation into more modern and abstract diction.

The best chapter is the long final one, 'La nuit orphique', and this certainly is indebted at least in part to the influence of I. W. Linforth's and W. K. C. Guthrie's eminently sane treatises on Orphism. It contains among other things

interesting analyses of various early cosmogonies, compared and contrasted with Hesiod's and set out in tabular form on pp. 257-60.

Paper and printing are good, errors few except for rather erratic Greek accents.

St. Andrews

H. J. ROSE

## SHORT REVIEWS

GIACOMO BONA: *Il νόος e i νόοι nell'Odissea*. (Università di Torino: Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, vol. xi, fasc. 1.) Pp. 68. Turin: Università, 1959. Paper, L. 700.

THIS useful little work labours under two main disadvantages, either of which is calculated to discourage the reader after a few pages. In the first place, the title would lead one to suppose that Signor Bona's purpose was to discuss the uses of νόος (and perhaps νοεῖν) in the *Odysses*, and the opening discussion of the meaning of νόος in the little sermon delivered by Odysseus to Amphinomus (xviii. 130-7) seems to justify this expectation; but it soon turns out that Bona's intention is to offer an account of the mind of Odysseus, and its differences from the minds of other people in the poem, the main theme being that Odysseus' νόος remains constant, despite all manner of temptations and apparent divagations. The second handicap is Bona's carelessness: he describes the tetrameters of Archilochus fr. 68 Diehl as 'trimetri' (p. 5; this might perhaps be a misprint, of which far too many have escaped his eye), and alleges that Helen met Telemachus 'a Pilo' (p. 7); he discusses the chronological relation of Archil. fr. 68 and *Od.* xviii. 136-7 without noticing that Archilochus may have misinterpreted Homer, whose οἶος is ambiguous (it might agree with νόος, not with ἥμαρ); he devotes an excessively long note (pp. 8-9, n. 20) to defending *Od.* i. 3 νόος against the Zenodoteans without referring to *Od.* iv. 267; and he omits *Od.* x. 259-60 from his account of the incompetence of Eurylochus (p. 27). Nevertheless, Bona is well-read in many languages, and he has an independent and usually sound judgement, so that the reader who perseveres will find many shrewd comments to reward him (for example, the neat and conclusive refutation, at p. 18, n. 29, of a comparison by Del Grande).

University of Leeds

J. A. DAVSON

HILDEBRAND STOCKINGER: *Die Vorzeichen im homerischen Epos: ihre Typik und ihre Bedeutung*. Pp. 183. St. Ottilien (Oberbayern): Eos-Verlag, 1959. Paper, DM. 12.80.

THE first and longest part of this Munich dissertation describes and assesses the omens and prophecies of the *Iliad*, the *Odysses*, and later epic poems. The second part discusses typical features and special terminology in these scenes, and the final part briefly considers the religious ideas underlying the Homeric use of such indications of the future. The author is a good scholar and deals soundly though unexcitingly with his subject. He confines himself to a unitarian viewpoint closely affiliated to that of Schadewaldt, and avoids using his material as an aid to the analysis of different cultural or compositional levels in the Homeric poetry as a whole. This seems a mistake, since the prophecy and portent scenes show considerable variety of background and ideas, and the Theoclymenus episode, to take an obvious example, is an important guide to the structure of the *Odysses*. In the footnotes the author allows himself greater latitude, and these sometimes contain interesting ideas which bode well for a second and less circumscribed publication.

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

G. S. KIRK

PIERRE LÉVÊQUE: *Aurea catena Homeri: une étude sur l'allégorie grecque*. (Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 27.) Pp. 90. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959. Paper.

WHEN Homer (*Il.* viii. 3 ff.) made Zeus propose to the rest of the deities a prodigious tug-of-war, using a golden 'chain' (it is rather a rope twisted of gold threads, and Lévéque properly renders it 'câble', p. 7), he would have been sorely puzzled if he could have foreseen that his very human gods and their doings 'eussent fini leur carrière sur les

rayons poussiéreux de ce musée d'abstractions métaphysiques', viz. late Neoplatonism (p. 74). They reached that goal by a long route, which seems never before to have had a special study devoted to it by any modern. The present monograph supplies the want, although the author modestly states (p. 11) that his attempt to be complete has probably been frustrated by the scattered nature of the material. If he has missed anything of importance, it is not for lack of diligence, for he has ransacked all he could find, down to and including Michael Psellus, whose little essay on the 'golden chain' he translates in an appendix, and of course Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*.

Finding a chronological arrangement impracticable, as many of the *testimonia* are of uncertain date and origin, Lévêque arranges his material under subjects, according to the kind of allegory employed. The first of his two divisions, pp. 13-30, consists of the cosmological interpretations; the 'chain' is some kind of bond, often connected with the sun or with light, which holds the universe together despite the heterogeneous nature of its elements. This may be as old as the sixth century B.C.; it depends on how we date the Orphic fragments (164-6 Kern) quoted on p. 14. That it was eagerly taken up by the Stoics goes without saying, but there are clear traces of it as early as Plato. The second and longer section, pp. 31-75, deals with those interpretations which postulate a 'chain', or rather a whole network of them, linking man and his humble dwelling at the bottom of the universe with the celestial and supercelestial powers. In its developed form, most fully represented by Proclus, this was the basis of theurgy, but its development involved a number of curious metaphysical speculations, of which abundant examples are given. One of the many interesting points is the way in which Homer interchanges with Orpheus (pp. 51, 55).

The author is plainly a man of good sense and judgement besides erudition; his handling of the texts, which are often corrupt, is reasonable and cautious, e.g. the far from easy passage from Marinus, p. 42. His translations into French of the many passages he quotes are in general very accurate and well expressed; this makes one odd little blunder on p. 70 stand out, when he renders *ἀσέβεια* (Plato, *Tim.* 24 d 3) by 'il a habité'. It is the only one I have noticed. It is now open to the curious to supplement, if they can, his researches by their own.

St. Andrews

H. J. ROSS

ROBERT DUFF MURRAY: *The Motif of Io in Aeschylus' Suppliants*. Pp. xi + 104. Princeton: University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1958. Cloth, 16s. net.

THE *Suppliants* of Aeschylus has been interpreted in many ways, but none of them, claims Professor Murray, has produced an adequate explanation of the difficulties which the play involves. His solution is to concentrate on the imagery, especially those sets of images which (as he sees them) are linked with the story of Io. This line of approach has been tried by others, but nowhere carried to such lengths as in Murray's essay.

From the great variety of images used in the play Murray discards many as 'merely characteristic of the poetic language', and selects four 'key' groups as having special significance: the imagery of bull and cow; of contrast between male and female; of touch and seizure (connected with the name Epaphus); and of breath, wind, and storm. These, he claims, all emanate from the Io legend, and are interwoven into 'a web of imagery central to the meaning of the drama'. Through them the Greek audience, like Professor Murray, was enabled to understand that Io's story 'prefigures' the experience of the Danaids, though the point is only partly realized by the Danaids themselves. The *Prometheus*, probably produced in the same period as the *Suppliants* or earlier, supplies the key to the 'allegory', for just as the tyrant Zeus of P.V. was followed by the more 'developed' deity of the end of the trilogy, so the 'developed' Zeus of the *Suppliants* implies a more primitive version of the god. The Danaids correspond to the pursued Io, and are afflicted with a similar madness; the Egyptians, to the earlier Zeus (admittedly not strictly her pursuer, but 'responsible for her flight'). But only in the rest of the Danaid trilogy is the allegory to be fully worked out: just as Io becomes a mother through the touch of Zeus, so Hypermetra is to accept motherhood through marriage with the spared Lynceus, who corresponds to the 'developed' Zeus. Between the Danaids' partial understanding of the parallel and the 'fuller knowledge possessed by the audience' there is a conflict which creates dramatic tension.

This is a theory and a half, as C. P. Snow's Professor Gay would say; but the present reviewer, for one, finds himself unable to believe it. It seems doubtful whether the selected images are necessarily drawn from the story of Io (the male-female antithesis, after all, is inherent in the whole



situation) or connected with each other. The dichotomy of Zeus is unconvincing. Some interpretations on points of detail are far-fetched—the linking of *λοιμός* *ἀνθρώπων* in line 659, for example, to mean 'pestilence of men' (p. 31) or 'a plague to men' (p. 80); or the claim that the Danaids' prayer that the Argive cattle may be prolific (691-2) symbolizes 'the continuing fertility of the descendants of the Zeus bull and Io cow'.

The principal objection to Murray's view, however, is the difficulty of believing that Aeschylus' mind worked along such lines as these. Since comparison of present action with past legend was the traditional manner of Greek lyric, the repeated references to Io are hardly surprising, although Murray seems to find them so. But poetic emphasis on such a comparison is something very different from the 'complex, perfectly evolved parallel', reducible to diagrammatic form, which Murray finds in the *Suppliants*.

University of Southampton

H. C. BALDRY

IGNACIO ERRANDONEA: *Sófocles, Tragedias—Edipo Rey, Edipo en Colono*. Texto revisado y traducido. Pp. xxxviii+201. Barcelona: Ediciones Alma Mater, 1959. Cloth, 225 ptas.

THIS, the first volume of an edition of Sophocles with Spanish prose translation and footnotes, contains the *Tyrannus* and *Colonus* together with a short general introduction on the life and works of Sophocles; in addition each play has its own introductory notice. The text is printed with an apparatus which gives the main readings of L, A, and the Leiden Palimpsest, though the reader of the introduction to the text is not informed what the last may be. The apparatus is somewhat swollen by the inclusion of readings of three manuscripts in the Escorial, of which one is an apograph of A and the other two are unremarkable specimens of the *recentiores*. Dr. Errandonea's text is conservative. He agrees more often with Jebb than with Pearson and rarely disagrees with both. *ἀκρότατον* at O.T. 876 is presumably a misprint, like the omission of *σοφ* at 417. Indeed the book is not entirely free from inaccuracies. At O.T. 194 L has *ἐπουρον* not *ἐπουρον*; 305 Stephanus's *εἰς τὴν* is printed as though it were the reading of the codd., and similarly with Reisig's *ἐν μοι* at 537, Doederlein's *τῶν* at 572, and Elmsley's *νῆσθε* at 1414. At O.C. 44 *τὸν* is from ed. Londiniensis, and at 680 Elmsley suggested *θεαίς*, not *θεαίς*. At

O.T. 257 the presence of *τ'* after *βασιλεύς* in L should have been mentioned.

It is a pleasant book to use, generously produced with ample margins.

King's College, Cambridge

D. W. LUCAS

R. H. S. CROSSMAN: *Plato Today*. Revised edition. Pp. 215. London: Allen & Unwin, 1959. Cloth, 20s. net.

MR. CROSSMAN's book inevitably lacks some of the piquancy and capacity to shock which it must have had when it was first published in 1937. Professor Popper and others who wrote during and after the war have helped to familiarize us with the idea that Plato is not only an ancient monument to be stared at through spiked railings but a political and moral thinker whose ideas are interesting and important enough to be disagreed with. Even so, Crossman is unfair to A. D. Winterspear and Warner Fite when he implies that his was the first book in English to venture to pull Plato down from his pedestal.

This edition is a reprint of the original text with some minor revisions and a new introduction. Crossman tells us that he would have liked to write a completely new book, recording among other things 'how Plato quarrelled with M. Mendès-France after his dinner with President de Gaulle and what Khrushchev told him about the cult of personality when he went on from Paris to revisit Moscow. Compared with the 1930's, his travels in this decade would take him much further afield. There would surely be a Dialogue in Delhi, as well as a painful interlude in the University of Peking.' But he now feels too far away from his first-hand study of Greek philosophy, and too rusty in his Greek, to attempt the task. He recognizes that the book as it stands is one-sided, but he rightly points out that adulation and hostility are equally likely to be prejudiced.

*Plato Today* grew from a series of broadcast talks. It is well adapted to be an introduction for the general reader to the study of Plato's political doctrines in their relation to the history of his own time and ours. The first four chapters, which give an account of Socrates and Plato and their background, are notable for their trenchancy and freshness of approach. In particular, Crossman's remarks about Socrates, whose accusers and judges he cannot whole-heartedly condemn, can still provoke thought. The remainder of the book describes the now celebrated confrontation of Plato with Fascism, Communism, and British Democracy.

Sometimes an uprush of rhetoric carries Crossman too far. It is surely not literally true that Greek democracy bore no resemblance to modern representative government (p. 94), and there is insufficient evidence in our sources to support all the implications of the claim that Aristotle 'became the tutor of Alexander and set his stamp upon the outlook of the Hellenistic world' (p. 192). But this is a lively, provocative, intelligent and well-written book, and this combination of Platonic virtues is rare enough in books about Plato to qualify for generous allowances.

RENFORD BAMBROUGH

St. John's College, Cambridge

LUIGI TORRACA: *Ricerche sull'Aristotele Minore*. Pp. 89. Padua: Cedam, 1959. Paper, L. 500.

THIS is a collection of notes on the biological works of Aristotle.

Chapter I is concerned with the tradition of the Greek text of *De Motu Animalium* and of William of Moerbeke's Latin translation. Torraca examines H<sup>a</sup> (Marcianus Graecus 214) and re-collates P, adding a few variants to Jaeger's collation. P is not a copy of H<sup>a</sup>; it has a number of readings omitted in the latter. X shows a near affinity to H<sup>a</sup> without being a direct or indirect copy of it; it is a descendant of a lost exemplar of the same branch as H<sup>a</sup> and has more faithfully preserved the tradition. There follow a few variants not given in the apparatus criticus of Torraca's edition of 1958. Torraca treats with prudent doubt the testimony of Porphyry to the effect that Andronicus of Rhodes τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου εἰς πρᾶγμα-τείας διέτελε τὰς οἰκείας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταῦτον συναγαγόν; Porphyry, *De Vita Plotini*, 24, p. 33 Volkmann. Nevertheless he thinks that the recension of Andronicus is the proper point of departure in the history of the text, and so his aim is to reconstruct that recension, which may be no more than a re-publication by Andronicus of a text which had come down to him from Aristotle.

The extant manuscripts of the Latin translation are very near to the autograph. (The translation is dated in 1260; Vat. Lat. 2083 was copied in 1284.) Of the more than 150 copies extant Oxoniensis, Ball. Coll. 250 is said to be one of the best. This, it appears, was used by Farquharson in his revision of the Greek text; but he did not recognize it as by William of Moerbeke, regarding it as an anonymous *versio antiqua*.

This chapter further contains (a) a number

of corrections of printing mistakes in Torraca's edition; (b) corrections of a number of mistakes in Lacombe's catalogue (*Aristoteles Latinus*, Cambridge, 1955); (c) a large number of readings from Latin manuscripts not before now used by the editor and a few changes in the text suggested by these new readings.

The next chapter gives a good résumé of the first four books of the *De Generatione Animalium* followed by a discussion of the question whether Book v belongs to the same treatise. Whereas i-iv are concerned with the reproduction of animals, v deals with secondary characteristics. This is followed by a discussion, to my mind too uncritical, of Aristotelian methods in natural investigation. Quoting, with quite justified approval, programmatic statements about scientific methodology is not the same as proving that Aristotle followed his own prescription. It seems to me that in singing the praises of Aristotelian methodology in the biological sciences Torraca forgets the very real drawbacks to scientific progress inherent in the teleological approach.

In Chapter iii a passage in *Gen. An.* v. 2. (781<sup>a</sup>20-35) is emended and its authenticity (impugned by Peck) is defended. After a rather long summary of *De Partibus Animalium* Torraca deals (Ch. iv) with its relative chronology and argues that it is later than *De Sensu*. Ch. v (on *Part. An.*): Vat. Graec. 261 (Y) has a text of 691<sup>b</sup>28-695<sup>a</sup>27 different from that of other manuscripts. Torstrik thought that this indicated a double redaction, both versions being attributable to Aristotle himself. This is rejected by Torraca, as indeed it had been rejected by other scholars before him. Torraca offers additional arguments for the rejection of this hypothesis; he suggests that the Y version represents a sort of scholastic paraphrase of the authentic text. There follows a short note on *Part. An.* i. 1. 640<sup>a</sup>27-33, which, with the exception of a few words, Torraca thinks genuine (as against Peck), and another short note on *Part. An.* iv. 13. 696<sup>a</sup>25-33, a corrupt passage. Torraca does not think Düring's emendations help, and he offers some of his own. The book ends with a useful bibliography.

This small volume contains a good deal of interesting material, but since much of it is heterogeneous and since the author offers us not one connected argument on one subject, but many arguments on many subjects, it is my opinion that he would have been better advised to publish in a series of short articles rather than in book form.

University of Leicester

A. WASSERSTEIN

JOHN J. O'MEARA: *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine*. Pp. ii + 184. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1959. Paper, 19 fr.

IN *De Civitate Dei* x Augustine refers to Porphyry's *De Regressu Animae*, a title for which there is no other evidence, and in xix he mentions Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles*. Professor O'Meara's object is to prove that the first title is simply a variant for the second, or for part of that book. In the first section he surveys what is known of these works and examines the universal assumption that they are two separate books; the second section collects what Augustine tells us about *Philosophy from Oracles* in *De Civitate* xviii-xxii, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* i, and *Sermon* 241, and argues that this alone is enough to show that its tone and direction were not altogether what Wolff's collection of fragments leads one to suppose; the third reviews *De Civitate* x in the light of the first two sections. Investigation of this book under three headings, *Darmonia*, *Principia*, and *Christus universalis via*, reveals how much of the subject-matter is identical with what was pretty certainly to be found in *Philosophy from Oracles*, and so an excellent case is made out for the thesis that *De Regressu Animae* is a way of referring to part or the whole of the major and well-attested work. Then, by way of corollary, some fresh passages are considered which appear to show the influence of this book upon Augustine; these include portions of *De Trinitate* and the *Confessions*.

The argument is carefully, indeed elaborately, conducted. Perhaps it could have been brought within the compass of an article, and the repetition of lengthy citations (for which the author feels obliged to apologize) is somewhat tedious. But in view of the consequences if O'Meara is right, it was worth going into the matter thoroughly. For if his conclusions are accepted, not only does a new edition of *Philosophy from Oracles* on a new basis become necessary (all Porphyry urgently needs re-editing anyhow), but a new assessment of the book is also required. O'Meara thinks it would reduce the seeming inconsistency between Porphyry the rationalistic disciple of Plotinus and the irrational devotee of demons. Further, at least two points emerge towards the better understanding of Augustine: the case for supposing Porphyry rather than Plotinus (and *Philosophy from Oracles* more than any other book) to have been the principal source of Augustine's knowledge of Neoplatonism at the time of his conversion is strengthened, and *De Civitate Dei* is more clearly seen as an apology

'reaching its climax in the refutation of *Philosophy from Oracles*', a work which Arnobius and Eusebius had previously endeavoured to refute. This is valuable, even if exaggerated.

Students of Neoplatonism must probe the detail, since there is an element of conjecture in O'Meara's attribution of material to *Philosophy from Oracles*, especially when he is dealing with commonplaces which scarcely need tracing to a precise source. But the cumulative force of his argument is considerable.

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S. L. GREENSLADE

ARETAEUS. Edidit CAROLUS HUDE. (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, ii.) Editio altera. Pp. xxvii + 277. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958. Paper, DM. 48.

THIS text of Aretaeus is the final version of the second impression of Hude's edition. The first was published in the C.M.G. in 1922 after the war of 1914-18, though the work was completed in 1916. The second impression has suffered similar delay, for its stocks were destroyed in the bombing of Leipzig during the Second World War, and the reprinting was completed only in 1956.

Carl Hude had an extremely difficult task in preparing the text. The original Ionic of the Hippocratic Corpus, which set the standard for most Greek medical writings, offers enough difficulty, for it has to be restored from manuscripts containing absurd forms which passed as genuine in the Roman period and later. Attempts to restore the forms that Hippocratic authors wrote have been made with the help of Ionic inscriptions of their period. But in the first volume of the C.M.G. the forms of the manuscripts were left untouched by Heiberg, in spite of Kühlewein's cautious improvements in the Teubner edition.

With Aretaeus Hude had an almost opposite problem, that of restoring what this author wrote in the age of Galen under the impression that he was reproducing the Ionic of Hippocrates and his disciples. He wisely did not attempt to write for Aretaeus the Ionic that he should have written but did not write, but left the language which Schmid-Stählin describes as *ein ionisches Kauderwelsch*. His tabulation shows the wild inconstancy of many forms, and departures from any normal syntax in the use of moods which are little short of delirious. Nor did he try to produce a *stemma codicum*, though he



saw that the manuscripts fall into two broad families.

The new impression is made more useful by the inclusion of 'Addenda et Corrigenda', 'Additamenta ad Testimonia et Similia', and also of an index nominum and a very full index verborum. The last two are by Johannes Zwicker, who says also in a foreword that Hude's text has been reproduced almost unaltered and awaits further treatment from classical and medical scholars.

Queen's University of Belfast E. D. PHILLIPS

JOSÉ MANUEL PABÓN: C. Sallustio Crispo, *Catilina y Jugurtha*. Vol. ii: *Guerra de Jugurtha*. (Colección Hispánica.) Pp. 205 (22-145 double). Barcelona: Ediciones Alma Mater, 1956 (1957). Cloth, 160 ptas.

THE second of Pabón's two palatial volumes on Sallust is devoted to the *Jugurtha*. It contains introduction, text with parallel Spanish translation, notes, and a combined index for the two volumes. The treatment of the text follows the lines laid down in volume i (reviewed *C.R.* lxx. 41), a preference for the direct tradition as opposed to the Teubner's penchant for the indirect, and a respect for the text which makes Pabón on occasion readier to see error in his author than in the transmission of his words. This higher loyalty is most noticeable in 10. 1 where, out of respect for the text, he retains *liberis* (which he feels may be a gloss!) on the ground that it is the kind of carelessness of which Sallust is sometimes guilty. The possibility that both Sallust and his text are right here has not been sufficiently explored, and in general Pabón seems unaware that conservative support for the text must entail radical opposition to some current views. For example in 16. 3 he reads *in amicis*, but his supporting note is too faint-hearted, and in the end we find him admitting that *in inimicis* makes more obvious sense, and looking longingly over his shoulder at the possibility of haplography.

In nothing is he more deprecating than in the problem of Sallust's chronology. The synopsis in the introduction contains not a single date. He makes some amends for this in the notes, but his treatment is conventional, e.g. the well-known *mense Ianuario* of 37. 3 is dismissed without much discussion as a mistake. Indeed on one occasion his embarrassment for his author leads him to apologize where no apology is due. This

occurs in a note on *ex improviso* (20. 3) which he translates as 'de pronto' and seems to imagine denotes an interval of time (in this case too short), whereas the phrase implies nothing about length of intervening period, only absence of immediate warning.

These may seem ponderous criticisms of admittedly brief notes, but they are caused by a fundamental ambiguity in Pabón's work, which seems not to have made up its mind what kind of audience it is really addressing. The index of proper names, which is also a glossary, is full of elementary information for a reader who apparently knows nothing (see especially on *Aeneas*, *Capitolium*, *Gracii*, *Quirites*). Many of the notes, on the other hand, are genuinely helpful and illuminating, but some of them seem calculated to pull the legs from under *el lector corriente* at whom the work is ostensibly aimed: on these last points Pabón needs to say either much more or nothing at all. One wonders, too, whether a general reader requires anything more elaborate by way of apparatus criticus than what the Loeb series provides. But the general reader will no doubt take what he wants from translation, notes, and index, and be well served at that.

University of Glasgow

D. A. MALCOLM

VIRGILIO PALADINI: C. Sallusti Crispi *Orationes et Epistolae de Historiarum Libris Excerptae*. Pp. 190. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1957. Paper.

THIS edition of the six major fragments of the *Historiae* consists of an introduction which contains a full discussion of the manuscript situation, together with a collection of ancient *testimonia* on Sallust; a text with an apparatus criticus which records the humblest variants; a parallel Italian translation; voluminous notes on textual, linguistic, stylistic, and historical points; and three useful indexes. The work has its origin in an introductory course of lectures on textual criticism given in the University of Rome. It seems an odd choice for such a course, and when Paladini explains that he has deliberately chosen an extremely simple case, in which the tradition is preserved to all intents and purposes in a single manuscript, he only reinforces one's feeling that this is prison fare for beginners in textual criticism. *non amplius possunt alimentis carceris. . . exiguatate moris prohibetur, senescunt vires* (*Mac.* 19).

This is not to say that, within its limits, the textual matter is not instructive. A dozen points are dealt with in a manner full enough

to be of considerable help to a beginner, and the main lesson taught is respect for the text. In two instances he accepts emendations (Madvig's on *Lep.* 20, and Orelli's on *Mac.* 19), but otherwise he sticks to the text of V, and his perseverance is rewarded by convincing explanations of *Lep.* 18 (following Burnouf) and *Mithr.* 16 (following Manutius), and by the elimination of the supposed lacuna in *Mithr.* 21.

These textual problems rightly occupy only a small part in a commentary which aims at the fullest understanding of Sallust and his work. The remainder, which is heavily indebted to Jacobs-Wirz-Kurfess, is of varying quality. The full historical notes provide the necessary help for understanding these sherds of history. Parallel passages in style and sentiment are liberally quoted from the monographs, sometimes with more enthusiasm than discretion. In the grammatical notes, however, the reek of the lecture-room grows strong. Things worth saying are not always worth printing, and there is much here that should never have got beyond typescript. An example is the running war which Paladini seems to be waging against the dative of the agent. It is not very helpful to be confronted at intervals with the bald statement that this dative or that is interest, not agent. Equally jejune are the frequent exhortations to 'Note the alliteration' or 'Note the variation'.

Indeed, in the grammatical notes Paladini's touch is noticeably less sure. On *Phil.* 3, *pacem optatis magis quam defenditis*, there is an alarmingly heavy-footed note, which starts with the assumption that this must properly mean that the minds of the Senate were more preoccupied with hopes of peace than with active measures in its defence. He then gingerly concedes that *magis quam* is 'substantially' the equivalent of 'rather than', and this is as close as he gets to recognizing a well-established idiomatic use of *magis quam* expressing a preference, not (in this case) in the mind of the Senate, but in the mind of the speaker; and a preference of a verbal kind, i.e. a search for the *mot juste*. Having crawled even thus far towards safety, he gives the game away by describing the phrase as 'euphemistic', which is not its flavour at all. And why expect euphemism from Philippus, whose *summa libertas* is fully documented on pp. 95-96?

In general the grammatical notes are a strange mixture of the obvious and the obscure. Readers innocent enough to require to be told '*pro quis: quis = quibus*' (*Pomp.* 6) are later left to draw what comfort they can from '*pro di boni: cf. pro deum fidem*' (*Phil.* 3).

On *Phil.* 6 *quisque* is compared with *alii* in *Cat.* 18. 5, with the implication that the one is as odd as the other, whereas the former is a commonplace. Two recurring faults are, first, a mechanical application of the 'rules' of Sallust's style, which results at one point in the lumping together as examples of Sallust's 'love of variety' three instances of change of preposition, of which only one (*Phil.* 4) is gratuitous, while the other two (*Cott.* 2, *Pomp.* 2) are stylistically desirable; and, second, an insufficient appreciation of the extent to which Sallust anticipates later usage, which leaves unnoticed, for example, *quippe* (*Phil.* 5) and *neu* (*Phil.* 6).

But these may be thought unimportant flaws in a very useful work. The only misprint noticed is a drunken-looking *δρῶν* on p. 86.

University of Glasgow

D. A. MALCOLM

DIETMAR KORZENIEWSKI: *Die Zeit des Quintus Curtius Rufus*. (Diss. Frankfurt a. M., 1959.) Pp.v+86. Cologne: privately printed, 1959. Paper.

ATTEMPTS to date the *Historia Alexandri Magni* of Q. Curtius Rufus have in general been based on the interpretation of the celebrated passage x. 9. 1-7 in which Curtius compares the condition of the Macedonian kingdom after the death of Alexander with that of the Roman empire before the accession of the reigning emperor. In pp. 4-13 of his useful dissertation Korzeniewski gives a history of the controversy from Mütsell's edition of 1841 to the present day, and in pp. 14-50 he makes a critical examination of the arguments for A.D. 40, A.D. 69, and a date in the reign of Septimius Severus (Altheim's view). Dates later than A.D. 227, when the Parthian empire collapsed, are rejected out of hand. Dates in the reign of Augustus, suggested by R. Klotz in 1846 and supported by Tarn and others, are not discussed in this section. Korzeniewski is a careful and thorough critic; the conclusion to which the reader feels driven by his fastidious argumentation is that Curtius' confused and rhetorical similitude simply does not contain the evidence upon which a positive dating could be made. What exactly is the point of resemblance between Macedonia and Rome? Is the *nov paene suprema* a real or a metaphorical night, or a muddle of both? Until agreement is reached on such questions as these, there can be no conclusive dating. Other passages in Curtius at best enable us to reject suggested dates.

In his third chapter (pp. 51-85) Korzeniewski argues that a year early in Augustus' reign, at any rate before 23 B.C., best fits the evidence. The many parallels which he finds between Augustan poetry and Quintus Curtius are interesting, but seem consistent with the hypothesis that Curtius had read the Augustan poets. And while it is true that several of the statesmen of the Civil War period made use of the Alexander tradition in their propaganda, this does not help us to interpret with clarity the passage in Book x in which Alexander seems, according to Korzeniewski's reasoning, to stand for Caesar, Antony, and Octavian in once.

In matters of this kind proof is rarely possible, but disproof sometimes easy. Would it be possible in the early years of Augustus to say of Tyre *longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis acquiescit* (iv. 4. 21)? The city changed hands several times during the Civil Wars (cf. Eissfeldt, *R.E.* 7A. 1898. 19-1899. 18), was besieged by the Parthians (Cass. Dio xlviii. 26), and was regarded with such suspicion by Rome that when Augustus settled the affairs of Syria in 20 B.C. he deprived it of its status as a *civitas foederata* or, as some interpret the passage, sold its citizens into slavery (Cass. Dio liv. 7; cf. R. H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, p. 4).

This is a useful *mise au point*. But to the reviewer, at any rate, the reign of Claudius or that of Vespasian still seems the most probable date for the composition of the *Historia Alexandri Magni*, and certainty seems unlikely to be attained without fresh evidence.

ROBERT BROWNING

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Vergil: *Die Mücke*. Lateinisch und deutsch von MAGDALENA SCHMIDT. (Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt, Band 4.) Pp. 47. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959. Paper, DM. 6.

WHAT Scaliger said of Persius might more truthfully be said of the poet of the *Culex*: 'non pulchra habet, sed in eum pulcherrima possumus scribere.' Even readers who find the poem itself tedious could hardly be bored by Miss Schmidt's interpretation of it. Shunning polemic and consigning the unenlightened (represented by Hosius, Fraenkel, and Büchner) to the outer darkness<sup>1</sup> of her footnotes,

<sup>1</sup> At p. 2, n. 5 darkness visible: Fraenkel, *J.R.S.* xlii (1952), 1-9 does not read *dicta* at *Culex* 3.

she proceeds simply to interrogate the text ('einfach den Text befragen'). In answer it discourses wonders: 'Voll gespannter Aufmerksamkeit'—to use her own words—'erwartet der Leser die nächste Überraschung.' A bare summary must suffice. The *Culex* was composed by Virgil as a skit on the mausoleum of Augustus (this develops a suggestion of Thielcher's<sup>2</sup>); at the time of its building the poet was forty-one, but that difficulty is disposed of by emending XVI at Suet. *Vita* 17 to *XLI*. That the *culex*-poem (possibly a relic of student days), with its Nekyia, should suggest itself as a suitable framework for Virgil's jest, is accounted for by 'eine nur in der Parodie zulässige Unlogik'; not that the Nekyia is pointless, rather is it 'komisch tendenziös', a hint to Augustus to be content with the Elysium which would be his (pp. 11-12: partial quotation would only tantalize). A detailed analysis propounds the poem to our admiration as a masterpiece, abounding in felicities of wit and diction. In the words of Henry Bradshaw, 'how nithe'.<sup>3</sup>

The text is based on previous editions and is chiefly remarkable for the editor's own<sup>4</sup> corrections, from which it appears that she conceives Virgil, *aet.* 41, as capable of writing, *inter alia*, 163 *tollebant curas uisentes omnia uisus* ('Thre Blicke . . . erregten Besorgnis') and 260 *Elysium tranandam et agor delatus ad undam*. German readers will no doubt be grateful for the translation (in hexameters), the first to appear for over a century, and for the brief explanatory notes.

This work will hardly enhance the reputation of the Berlin Academy. Professor Irrmscher in a defensive postscript justifies its publication on the grounds that it will stimulate further study of the *Culex*. It probably will: *uno annulo non deficit alter*.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

E. J. KENNEY

CHARALAMBOS S. PHILORATOS: 'H προφητεία τοῦ P. Nigidius Figulus (M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis i. 639-73). Pp. 50. Athens: privately printed, 1958. Paper.

THE prophecy of disaster put by Lucan into the mouth of Nigidius Figulus is discussed under three headings: philosophy, astrology, and politics. The scholiast and modern

<sup>2</sup> But cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> M. R. James, *Eton and King's*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Where they are her own: at 964 (<im>) *bellis* is the property of Clausen.



editors are wrong in thinking that i. 642-3 refer to Epicurean theory; nor is the theme of the following lines confined to Stoic concepts. Epicurus denied that the stars move at random, so that Kiessling-Heinze likewise are wrong in considering Hor. *Ep.* i. 12. 17 as reflecting Epicurean doctrine. By *hic mundus* Lucan, says Philoratos, means this world as opposed to former worlds, not to coexistent ones. In the second section it is maintained that Nigidius was not a Pythagorean philosopher but an astrologer, still of some repute in Lucan's day, who adapted Pythagoreanism. At i. 641 Bentley, followed by Housman, wrongly changed *monentibus* to *sequentibus*; *numerus* means not calculations but numbers, which by Babylonian, Egyptian, and Pythagorean ideas had a mystical power over the universe. Details of the astrology are discussed in criticism of Boll, Housman, and Getty. In the third section an attempt is made to show that Nigidius equated constellations with political figures, e.g. Venus with the deceased Julia, Mercury with Cicero. In his concluding pages the author maintains that Lucan, fiercely Republican from the start of his epic, used an appropriate work of Nigidius to express his own sentiments.

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O. A. W. DILEX

Juvenal, *Satires*: translated by ROLFE HUMPHRIES. Pp. 186. Bloomington: Indiana University Press (London: Mark Paterson), 1958. Paper, 12s. net.

THE few English translations of Juvenal that have appeared since Gifford's version have been in prose: this verse rendering (in 'roughly scanable' hexameters) by an American poet who has already translated the *Assid* (1951) and the *Metamorphoses* (1955) is therefore especially welcome. Its chief quality is its liveliness; and if this is achieved occasionally by slang ('you will get yours pretty soon', p. 22) and by startling anachronisms ('put this in your pipe and smoke it', p. 40), at least we now have a modern English version of Juvenal that carries conviction and can be read for its own sake. To produce it, Humphries has allowed himself plenty of freedom in his treatment of the original, and his work (*pace* the back cover) is by no means a 'high-fidelity reproduction'. Sometimes, it must be conceded, little or nothing is thereby lost, as when inessential proper names are dropped. But 'my wife' for *Galla mea* surely impairs the effectiveness of

the confidence-trick at 1. 125 ff., just as 'any others' s; 3. 130 gives us something much less pointed than Juvenal actually wrote. And why should a clause such as *si Laurenti custodit in agro conductas Corvinus oves* (1. 107-8) fail to qualify for translation along with the rest? There are occasional errors, some perhaps due to following Ramsay's Loeb version too closely. At 2. 37, for example, a conjecture has been translated instead of the reading in the text; at 1. 125 ff. the *maritus* surely speaks throughout; and at 3. 94-95 Doris should be given her tunic back. On rare occasions Humphries seems to miss the point. At 5. 98, where Aurelia sells the fish given to her by a *captator* instead of eating it, 'sells at a profit' makes no sense. And 'who is safest talking about the heat' (4. 87-88) is sadly wide of the mark. At 1. 109 ff. the bitterness of the subjunctives should be kept. At 5. 56 ff. the identity of *ille* (v. 62) should be brought out clearly, or the antithesis is lost. (Virro is waited on by the flower of Asia; you are scornfully neglected by an African runner.) *Torus melior* has nothing to do with comfort (3. 82); the *Collis Viminalis* was not 'named for the vineyard' (3. 71); and the Otho of 14. 324 was not an emperor. But enough of such carping. Here are some lines which show Juvenal in an unaccustomed mood, and Humphries at his best:

'Now, Persicus, listen.

Here's what we're going to have, things we can't get in a market,  
From a field I own near Tivoli—this you can count on—  
The fattest kid in the flock, and the tenderest, one who has never  
Learned about grass, nor dared to nibble the twigs of the willow,  
With more milk in him than blood; and mountain asparagus gathered  
By my foreman's wife, after she's finished her weaving.  
Then there will be fresh eggs, great big ones, warm from the nest  
With straw wisps stuck to the shells, and we'll cook the chickens that laid them.  
We'll have grapes kept part of the year, but fresh as they were on the vines,  
Syrian bergamot pears, or the red ones from Segni in Latium;  
In the same basket with these the lovely sweet-smelling apples  
Better than those from Picenum. Don't worry, they're perfectly ripened,  
Autumn's chill has matured their greenness, mellowed their juices.' (11. 64 ff.)

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E. L. HARRISON

SVEN BLOMGREN: *Eine Echtheitsfrage bei Optatus von Mileve*. Pp. 70. (Acta Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis, 5.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1959. Stiff paper, kr. 10.

ABOUT 366 the Numidian bishop Optatus addressed six controversial books to the Donatist bishop of Carthage, Parmenian, attacking him as schismatic and vindicating his own position as authentically catholic. Nearly twenty years later he published a second edition to which he added a concluding seventh book in a more eirenic tone. The seventh book, absent from the manuscript used for Cochlaeus's *principes* of 1549, was first printed in 1563 by Baudouin, who remarked in his preface: 'Speraueram quidē certe accessurum alterū emendationis praesidiū ex codice Ioannis Tilij Episcopi Briacensis ut veterum librorum, sic antiquitatum Ecclesiasticarum studiosissimi. Sed quod tum propter absentiam doctissimi anti-stitis praestari nō potuit, altera forte editio postea praestabit.' In 1569 Baudouin produced his expected second edition, now using the bishop's manuscript, according to which there appeared five passages in the seventh book (two being of some length) not otherwise attested in the manuscript tradition. The codex Tilianus has not been seen since, and the 1569 edition is the sole authority for its text. The five additions are important for their content, which carries the eirenic tendency of the argument to extremes, minimizing the responsibility of the Donatists for their schismatic error. The genuineness of the five pieces has long been disputed, being denied by Dupin and Monceaux but admitted by Ziwsa and Wilmart. Blomgren's monograph is an admirable and most painstaking investigation of the linguistic evidence; from a minute analysis of the constructions and turns of phrase he concludes convincingly that the style is indistinguishable from that of the undoubted Optatus. The additions must therefore come either from some disciple who had made the master's style his own or, more probably, from Optatus himself. The oecumenical negotiator, who reduces to vanishing-point the difference between divergent ecclesiastical positions that he may by all means save some, may not earn everyone's approval; but he is a familiar figure in church history, and there is no *a priori* ground for denying that Optatus came to adopt this position. If so, his arguments were evidently

an embarrassment to his contemporary colleagues.

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H. CHADWICK

WOLFGANG SPEYER: *Naucellius und sein Kreis*. Studien zu den Epigrammata Bobiensia. (Zetemata, Heft 21.) Pp. 128. Munich: Beck, 1959. Paper, DM. 18.

LATINISTS are less fortunate than Hellenists in the matter of new texts. So the collection of epigrams from late antiquity discovered recently by A. Campana in a Vatican manuscript (Vat. lat. 2836) which is itself a copy of a lost codex from Bobbio, and admirably edited by F. Munari (*Epigrammata Bobiensia*, vol. ii, Introduzione ed edizione critica, Roma, 1955), has not surprisingly already given rise to a number of studies. Dr. Speyer's is the first full-length book on the poems.

It can be said at the outset that the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* are pretty poor stuff, whether regarded as literature or as an historical source. To call the writer or writers a 'barley Ausonius' would be gross flattery. Bad poetry is from its nature more difficult to date, to attribute, and even to understand, than good; and it is with questions of attribution that Speyer in the main concerns himself. Munari (pp. 29 ff.) argued that Naucellius, named as the author of some of the poems, and known as a man of letters from the correspondence of Symmachus, was both the author of all the other poems not expressly attributed to someone else and the compiler of the collection. Speyer challenges both these propositions. He first provides a detailed commentary on the poems certainly attributable to Naucellius, and then examines the other poems in the light of these. If Munari's linguistic and stylistic arguments for unity of authorship do not amount to much, the same can be said for the counter-arguments presented by Speyer on pp. 84-92. The only point of interest is the very different patterns of pentameter endings in poem 26 and in the Naucellius poems.

In his commentaries Speyer offers many interesting and illuminating parallels of motif and expression, as well as some admirable detective work, e.g. his identification of Aquae Maternae with the Maternum of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, not far from Spoleto (p. 13). But his arguments are in general too subjective to convince. For instance he points out that the mythological motive in 38 is less appropriate than that in 1; hence 38 cannot be by Naucellius. Similarly the author

<sup>1</sup> The very rare 1563 edition is in Christ Church library.

of 58 'hat es nicht verstanden, alle Charakteristika seines Themas zusammenzufassen, da die Beziehung zur Heilquelle fehlt'; therefore it is not by Naucellius. As 58 is almost certainly a translation from the Greek (so Speyer, p. 22), this argument has little weight. Again, poems 25 and 26 are both adaptations from the Greek. 25, says Speyer, is tasteful and close, with only one addition, and that a typically Roman one, whereas 26 is woolly and tasteless. Hence 25 may be by Naucellius, but 26 is by someone else, to whom 29 can probably also be attributed (pp. 93-112). But if Homer nodded occasionally, nutation may be said to be the proper motion of the nonagenarian Naucellius, and this kind of argument is quite out of place.

The review copy of the book is accompanied by a cyclostyled sheet in which a number of misprints are corrected and the unmetrical conjecture in 1. 2 (p. 11) withdrawn. There are one or two other points of detail which need correction. It is not true that no Latin poet published a collection including his own poems and those of others (p. 8); Naucellius' contemporary Sextus Petronius Probus did just that (*R.E.* i. 2205, 38 ff.). Naucellius cannot be from *ναὐς + κέλλω*; it would be an impossible formation (p. 46). *Sedatum ingenium* in 8. 10 does not imply that the author was old when he wrote the poem, though he may well have been old; it means that he was a quietist, an *ἀσπόμενος* (p. 48). The conjecture *Cyrias* for *τεγiras* in 7. 2 will not scan (p. 61); cf. *T.L.L.*, *Onomasticon*, 804. 62 ff.

However, in spite of the weakness of many of his arguments, Speyer's case as a whole is a good one. There is no good evidence for attributing the bulk of the poems to Naucellius and little for supposing that he was the compiler. Lack of positive evidence that he did not write or compose the corpus is irrelevant. A man is presumed innocent until he is proved guilty. Whatever the ultimate outcome of the argument, Speyer's copious exegetical material will enable it to be carried on with a sounder foundation than hitherto.

ROBERT BROWNING

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REUBEN ARTHUR BROWER: *Alexander Pope. The Poetry of Allusion*. Pp. xiv + 368. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. Cloth, 35s. net.

MR. BROWER'S aim is to make us 'feel the presence of the poets and poetry of Greece

and Rome' in Pope: otherwise, although we know that he was indebted to them, 'the knowledge remains inert'.

The sequence of chapters follows Pope's works chronologically. The typical method is to begin a chapter with some point from Pope (in the chapter on his *Iliad* it is his parody of Sarpedon's speech in *The Rape of the Lock*), and lead from this into a general disquisition on some aspect of classical antiquity, and modulate back into Pope by the end of the chapter. The commentary is fuller in the later chapters, which deal with Pope's 'Ethic Epistles' and Imitations of Horace, but always desultory. It reaches no conclusion, but merely ends with a discussion of Pope's *Temple of Fame*.

Nothing new is stated, or claimed to be. That allusion is characteristic of Pope was already known, and has been explored, for instance by Maynard Mack in his article 'Wit and Poetry in Pope', in *Pope and His Contemporaries*, ed. Clifford and Landa. Pope has been fairly fully edited and criticized in recent years, and the Twickenham edition even prints Horace's poems on pages facing Pope's imitations of them. Brower blunts our curiosity with his repeated 'as Tillotson says', 'as Douglas Knight has noted', 'Aubrey Williams suggests'; and when we think we really have a new perception at last, e.g. *silvas fatigant* (p. 278) or Claude landscape in *The Temple of Fame* (p. 357), it turns out that this point too has already been made in the Twickenham edition or elsewhere. No good is done by repeating in this way facts already available: you cannot make 'inert knowledge' active, but only make it available. The elementary character of what Brower tells us about Homer or Horace suggests the book may be intended for the vulgar, but even as such there is no room for it in the world of Penguin Classics and paperback histories of antiquity, and Brower's style, which has all the jargon of modern English literary criticism without the argument, is not of a kind to appeal to such a public.

Brower admits non-classical sources for Pope, but considers the classical ones 'central' (p. viii). But the central fact about Pope is that he was an original poet. An edition notes all the sources: to omit any falsifies the picture. The deaths of larks and lapwings in *Windsor Forest* are explained as 'Virgilian sensibility' (p. 56); but fascination with the small and delicate is a personal characteristic of Pope, and kindness to animals a general characteristic of eighteenth-century benevolence. Pope's insistence, in the *Epistle to Burlington*, that only the useful is beautiful elicits a mention of *omne*



*tulit punctum*, but the similar emphasis on the practical, immediate, and intelligible in post-Restoration science, literature, and theology is ignored. The universal familiarity of the *Ars Poetica* lessens its value as a point of reference in discussing Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, and Brower fails here to define Pope's relation to the French critics, and does not mention Longinus, let alone the contemporary craze for Longinus. In other places too Brower's conscious or unconscious mind is still a stamping-ground for the Battle of the Books. And Ariel is not a character in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (p. 150).

University of Glasgow

C. H. SALTER

H. J. ROSE: *Outlines of Classical Literature for Students of English*. Pp. xiv + 303. London: Methuen, 1959. Cloth, 16s. 6d. net.

THIS latest addition to Professor Rose's handbooks of ancient literature and mythology compresses into brief compass an account of the works of Greek and Latin authors from Homer to the fourth century A.D. Its origin, we are told in the preface, is the author's lectures to English Honours students at St. Andrews on the classical background of our literature; and he adds that accordingly it is confined to 'such ancient authors as have demonstrably had an effect, direct or other, on later writers, especially those who have used the English tongue'. In practice, however, this principle seems to have had little influence on either the choice of authors for description or the space given them. Nearly all the standard writers, major and minor, are there, including some who might well have been omitted: Lycophron receives a page and a half, Nigidius Figulus a page. Since much space is devoted to summaries—eight of Homer's eighteen pages, for example, summarize the plots of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*—the room available for the mass of other information which Rose gives us is brief indeed.

Many will disagree with Rose's resistance to some recent trends: Homer, author of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is placed in the tenth century B.C., and the religion of Dionysus enters Greece in the seventh; Aeschylus' *Suppliants* is 'the earliest Greek play left to us', and the papyrus scrap which mentions it refers only to a revival. But his book as a whole is a thoroughly scholarly compendium demonstrating once again its author's wide and detailed knowledge of the classical world. The difficulty is to see quite what value it can

have for the student of English literature, or for the 'general' reader hopefully mentioned on the dust cover. Such a compressed factual outline, expounded in lengthy and complex sentences and in paragraphs which sometimes fill several pages, and rarely relieved by illustrative quotations, does not make an easily readable introduction to the subject, or one likely to lure the reader into exploration of classical literature itself. No guide to translations or modern commentaries is given, except here and there in the footnotes; the Bibliography is limited to Rose's own works, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and Hunger's mythological lexicon. Little attempt is made to present a picture of the general character of ancient literature or the state in which it has come down to us, or—except in brief accounts of metrical forms—to explain the many aspects of it which are puzzling to the modern reader. Nor does Rose give us any adequate idea of the extent or nature of the influence of the classics on English literature, in spite of his promise in the introduction to deal with 'the form the influence has taken, the more outstanding writers who have imitated the ancients in question, and the trends or schools of writing which have resulted'. Borrowings in points of detail receive some attention, but many major items in the legacy go unheeded. Three pages are devoted to tracing the Polyphemus and Galatea theme from Theocritus through Virgil, Ovid, Gongora, and Gay; but there is no reference to the Homeric simile or to the influence of Platonism in England, and the only debt acknowledged to the Stoics is that 'much of their terminology is still in use'. Gay and Gilbert are linked at some length with Aristophanes; but there is no mention of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. Of the moderns, Thurber and Somerset Maugham make an appearance; but the chapter on Greek drama contains no word of T. S. Eliot's plays.

Perhaps it is captious to ask for more when so much is already packed into so little space. Professor Rose has given the student a great deal of accurate information, and an adequate index which makes the book usable as a work of reference. But when various classical dictionaries and Rose's own handbooks are already available, the value of this volume hardly seems to justify the labour involved.

University of Southampton

H. C. BALDRY

LUDWIG PALLAT: *Richard Schöne*. Pp. xii+418; 31 plates. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1959. Cloth, DM. 32.

RICHARD SCHÖNE was born in Dresden in 1840, studied Classics at Leipzig, where he obtained his doctorate, practised painting at Weimar, turned archaeologist in Rome, became Professor of Archaeology at Halle, and moved to Berlin in 1872 to be first the Art Adviser to the Ministry of Religious, Educational, and Medical Affairs and then, eight years later, Director-General of the Museums. He retired, at his own insistence, in 1905 and died in 1922. His early scholarship showed promise, but in Berlin he was preoccupied by administration. Under his régime the Berlin museums rose to eminence; able keepers were recruited and their status was improved, the collections were enlarged wisely, excavation (most notably at Pergamum, Priene, Miletus, and Babylon) and publication were promoted, new buildings were put up, and even the general public was not forgotten. Schöne, who seems to have been a modest, considerate, and honest man with no taste for domineering, does not himself emerge clearly from this book. Pallat, its author, was an able administrator too and, though he writes lucidly, the emphasis is on administration. For cultural politics and intrigues, especially in the Germany of the Kaisers, this is a valuable study. Ordinary readers, anyhow outside Germany, will find it rather heavy, though the illustrations are well chosen.

R. M. COOK

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EUGENIO MANNI: *Introduzione allo studio della storia greca e romana*. Seconda edizione. Pp. 244. Palermo: Palumbo, 1959. Paper, L. 2,400.

THE purpose and merits of this introductory manual have been pointed out in a review of the first edition (C.R. lxxiii. 315, by M. Cary). In the first chapter the meaning and 'philosophy' of history, the early and late limits of ancient history, and historical method are discussed. The second chapter provides a general bibliography, the third and fourth list the literary sources with bibliographies for Greek and Roman history, and the fifth deals similarly with geographical and chronological matters. The brief descriptions of authors will help younger students to orientate themselves (especially amid the bewildering number of fragmen-

tary authors, e.g. those contained in Jacoby), while the bibliographies will prove useful for more advanced workers. This second edition is more attractive in format, and variations in the size of the type make for easier use. Further, the bibliographies of course have been brought up to date. Manni has cast his net widely, but a few curious omissions may be noted for the next edition: e.g. add Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (to p. 59), Jones, *The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks* (p. 59), Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (p. 60), Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (p. 60), Whatmough, *Foundations of Roman Italy*, and something of Randall-MacIver (p. 68), Mattingly, *B.M. Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire* (p. 77), Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides* (p. 124), the Loeb Procopius (p. 194), Bradford, *Ancient Landscapes* (p. 211). *Greece and Rome* might well have been added on p. 54. Note also: Head, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup> is not in two volumes as stated on p. 56, nor is Mattingly's *Roman Coins* in three (p. 77); *per contra* A.T.L. now runs to four volumes (p. 69). On p. 71 Meyer's *Römischer Staat* should be cited in the previous paragraph since it deals with the Republic; Cary's *Documentary Sources* (p. 87) would fit better on p. 64. Slips include Suetonius Paulinus as Nero's general in Mauretania (p. 143), and the persistent attribution of the letter, which was addressed to Philip V by Scipio, to Aemilianus instead of to Africanus Maior (pp. 141, 142, 168); on p. 162 the figures of the date of Cato's birth have been transposed. But to return to the main point: this is a very useful introduction to the ancient authorities for Greek and Roman history and to the modern literature about them.

King's College, London

H. H. SCULLARD

FRANK E. MANUEL: *The Eighteenth Century confronts the Gods*. Pp. xvi + 336; 9 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1959. Cloth, 54s. net.

THIS excellent book is written by an American professor of history, who, not content with knowing the principal eighteenth-century writers on mythology and what we now call comparative religion, has ransacked libraries on both sides of the Atlantic to make the acquaintance of rare books and some unpublished material. As a result, he is able to give a full account of the attitudes of the

period in question towards myth, classical and other. He sketches, fully but without overburdening his work with too minute detail, the different schools of thought, the allegorists and their opponents, Deism, Euhemerism, rationalisms of various kinds with their discovery of a primitive man who can never have existed in the flesh but bulks largely in their elaborate theories, the investigators (to the horror of their more squeamish contemporaries) of phallic cults and symbols, and finally the leaders of what he calls the 'counter-attack from the East', those German sages who, headed by Johann Georg Hamann, preached a new gospel of irrationalism and created that strangest of mythical monsters, *das Volk*, with all its wonderful abilities of producing sublime, if unreasoning, literatures. Full references are appended in notes at the end of the book, which may serve as a guide to those who would delve deeper into a fascinating subject. Being an American, the author includes an interesting American figure, ex-President John Adams, whose correspondence and certain marginalia on his books, preserved in Boston public library, reveal his lively curiosity and intellectual struggles brought about by the European, especially the French, writers whom he studied diligently. The plates throw some light on the non-literary material of the age, ranging as they do from elaborate allegories to pictures, meant at least to be realistic, of contemporary savages and reproductions of frankly erotic scenes from Herculaneum.

The reviewer would like to see this *pulchrum corpus* rid of a few trifling *naevi* if a new edition should be called for, which the work well deserves. On pp. 31-32 and elsewhere, perhaps not enough consideration has been given to the influence, direct or indirect, of St. Augustine concerning the non-morality of pagan cults (e.g. in *C.D.* ii. 4). P. 34, Bayle's dictum that blank atheism is less offensive to God than pagan idolatry has its origins in Plutarch, *Mor.* 169-170A. P. 44, the 'Augustinian analogy between the history of mankind and the development of the child to maturity' is older than the saint, for it can be traced to the elder Seneca. P. 119, for 'Lacedaemonia' read either 'Lacedaemon' or 'Laconia'. P. 253, for 'Sallust' read 'Sallustius', and add to note 8 on p. 322 the reference 'Sallustius, *de dis et mundo* 3, p. 4, 9 Nock'. Against these little slips in what is not the author's speciality, it may be noted that, unlike one or two professed classicists, he knows who wrote *primus in orbe deos fecit timor* (pp. 35, 144). Psychologists might do worse than

study the parallel drawn on the last page of the text between certain of their views and some of the eighteenth-century theorists' extravagances.

St. Andrews

H. J. ROSE

DIMITRI TSONTCHEV: *Monuments de la sculpture romaine en Bulgarie méridionale*. (Collection Latomus, xxxix.) Pp. 43; 24 plates. Brussels: Latomus, 1959. Paper, 100 B. fr.

THE sculptures of imperial times found locally in what was once the Roman province of Thrace are little known and students of provincial art will welcome this small, but fully illustrated, catalogue of the objects that have been culled from the territories of two of the district's most important ancient centres—Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and Augusta Traiana or Beroe (Stara Zagora). Here the carvings are divided into three main categories: (1) human statuary, (2) religious sculpture, and (3) figures of animals, those of the first category being further classified according to the age and sex of the personages portrayed. Under the heading of each item the author gives us the present location of the piece, its material and dimensions, previous publications (if any), and a brief description and appreciation, accompanied in nearly every case by an attempt at approximate dating.

A glance at the plates reveals the comparatively high standard of execution and the, in general, wholly classical character of the great majority of sculptures listed. No. 11, the early-third-century head of a youth (cf. for the hair-style some of Geta's adolescent portraits), No. 12, a bearded mid-third-century head, No. 56, the double herm of Asklepios and Hygieia, No. 63, the figure of a bull, and No. 65, the fragment of a lion's head, are particularly striking and attractive works. None is a masterpiece; yet the bulk are from the hands of careful, competent craftsmen, well schooled in Mediterranean tradition. Only one carving, No. 37, a woman's bust, strikes a definitely 'native' note. Apart from No. 61, an alabaster statuette of Venus, all, including No. 37, are worked in marble, mostly, no doubt, from the local Rhodopean quarries. But it would have been interesting to learn whether any of the items had been cut from imported blocks.

The author is, perhaps, too much prone to see likenesses of emperors and empresses in the now headless draped male and female



figures that constitute a fair proportion of his catalogue. Many of these were surely portraits, funerary or honorific, of private citizens.

May the present brochure be but the first instalment of a series of such studies from this relatively unfamiliar quarter of the Roman world.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

*Newnham College, Cambridge*

MARCEL RENARD: *Technique et agriculture en pays trévire et remois*. (Collection Latomus, xxxviii.) Pp. 72: 7 plates, 9 figs. Brussels: Latomus, 1959. Paper, 100 B. fr.

THE first part of this study is devoted to a reconstruction of the *uallus* described briefly by Pliny (*N.H.* xviii. 296) and at greater length by Palladius (*Agric.* vii. 2. 2-4). This was a mobile reaper used in parts of Gaul. For more than a century attempts had been made to illustrate this machine on the basis of the texts before reliable archaeological evidence was at last provided by a relief found in 1948 at Buzenol in south-east Belgium. It then became fairly clear that an imperfect relief from Arlon represented the arrangements for controlling the reaper from the rear, and that another from Rheims was a rudimentary illustration of the front end. The new reconstruction supersedes all others, including that of Quilling in vol. ii of Singer's *History of Technology*, p. 97. In place of the pathetic little trolleys previously supplied, we now have something that can take its place with other Celtic vehicles, a well-proportioned device, the chassis of which is not unlike those of some modern seeding machines.

Having dealt with the *uallus*, Renard gives a description of the agricultural activities of the region in which it is known to have been used. This is a general account rather than a regional survey, and not a single map is provided. Do the territories of the Remi and the Treveri in fact constitute a single region? Do Champagne and Moselle mix? The demarcation seems to have been dictated largely by the occurrence of reliefs depicting the *uallus* at Rheims on the one hand and at Arlon and Buzenol on the other. Nevertheless, the fully documented account of districts rich in reliefs and inscriptions is useful. One wonders, in passing, if it was the practice to send corn from here to the army in Britain (p. 61) when the Fenlands and other

areas in Britain were almost certainly set aside for the army's needs.

*University of Bristol*

D. E. EICHHOLZ

G. M. A. RICHTER: *Greek Portraits*, ii: *To what extent were they faithful likenesses*. (Collection Latomus, xxxvi.) Pp. 47; 16 half-tone plates. Brussels: Latomus, 1959. Paper, 100 B. fr.

FOR a work of art to interest us *qua* portrait in the true sense we must know, or be reasonably sure, that it faithfully depicts a concrete individual's actual features; and the sub-title given to the present essay seems to indicate that its author shares that view. After discussing the various media in which there have come down to us what purport to be Roman copies of earlier portraits of famous Greeks—statues, herms, busts, coins, gems, *emblemata* from metal and terra-cotta bowls, reliefs, statuettes, paintings, and mosaics—Dr. Richter argues cogently that life-size Roman copies in the round are virtually our only reliable criteria for gauging what the Greek originals were like (Chapter i). Names or literary quotations inscribed on such copies, and the deductions that may be drawn from the coupling of heads in double herms (Chapter ii), merely tell us whose features the works in question were alleged to render. Only in the last five pages of her brochure (Chapter iii) does the author tackle the crucial problem—Were those Greek originals themselves faithful likenesses?

For the fifth century B.C. such evidence as we possess surely suggests that the 'portraits', made in that period, of historical personages were strongly idealized and generalized—despite the fact that we do get occasionally at that time signs of interest in the realistic, individualized, portrait-like rendering of a human face in some works of 'minor' art. As for the so-called portraits of statesmen, poets, and philosophers of the classical Greek epoch that are worked in late-fourth-century and Hellenistic styles—these often exist in a number of varying types and we can never know that such posthumous representations do not simply express different artists' ideas of what those worthies had looked like, or should have looked like, in the light of the literary traditions about them. In the case of the numerous Demosthenes representations, replicas of a single, fixed, unvarying type that can almost certainly be connected with the portrait known to have been made by the early-Hellenistic sculptor Polyseuctus

forty-two years after the orator's death, it would seem to be very likely that this artist could have used sketches and recollections of his subject's features dating from the latter's lifetime. But it is most improbable that contemporary private sketches and little clay or wax busts of individuals survived above ground for many generations—for a century or more—after those persons' deaths to serve as models for official portraitists. As for the small terra-cotta heads, busts, and statuettes that have actually been found, none is certainly to be assigned to classical Greek times. Those that are of Hellenistic date are more suggestive of realistic, portrait-like renderings, or even caricatures, of human types than of true portraits. And some of the Roman examples of such little terra-cotta busts, discovered in tombs and household shrines, may be stock, mass-produced pieces, generally suited to the age and sex of the departed, rather than *ad hoc* likenesses.

This reviewer cannot feel that the author has made out a case for regarding as of general application her concluding claim that 'one may be reasonably confident that the portraits of the fifth and succeeding centuries that have come down to us in life-size sculptured Roman copies give us not a fictitious but a real visualization of these individuals'. Not until the opening of the Hellenistic age do we reach firm ground and can be confident that we are looking at authentic portraits. When, for instance, we both know from literature that Alexander sat for Lysippus and that Polyceuctus depicted Demosthenes and possess the corresponding monuments, we can say that portraiture proper has at last appeared in the ancient world. And when we have on the coins of the Hellenistic kings an almost unbroken series of relentlessly unidealized, highly individualized, contemporary labelled likenesses, we may see in the large-scale bronze and marble heads, busts, and statues of the period 'real visualisations' of both public and private characters.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

Newnham College, Cambridge

P. E. CORBETT: *The Sculpture of the Parthenon*. Pp. 39; 40 plates, 7 figs. West Drayton: Penguin Books, 1959. Boards, 5s. net.

This book is a black and white King Penguin. It is the work of an Assistant Keeper in the British Museum, whose study proceeds from an intimate knowledge of the Elgin marbles.

The text is restrained in tone and provides an admirable commentary on the plates; it is well written, with close attention to iconographical detail and with appreciation of the significance of the subjects. The author is perhaps too reserved in judgement. In particular he seems to draw back from the problem of Phidias and the distinctive style of the sculptures, and he passes over the stylistic difference between the figures of the two pediments. But the wonder is that in so short a space he has said so much that is to the point.

The Museum photographs of the frieze are good, but they tend to be soft. When run out in strips barely 2 inches high (lacking the overhead moulding and often taken from casts) they are apt to appear inconsequent; and they provide a record rather than a spectacle of fine marble carving. But all the photographs are clear and crisply reproduced; and no less than 280 running feet of frieze have been illustrated, in addition to four metopes and eight pedimental pieces.

University of Bristol

J. M. COOK

A. D. TRENDALL: *Phlyax Vases*. (University of London, Institute of Classical Studies: Bulletin Supplement no. 8.) Pp. v+77; 6 plates. London: London University, Institute of Classical Studies, 1959. Paper, 10s. net.

STUDENTS interested in Phlyax plays and comic masks will find this publication very useful. Professor Trendall, whose knowledge of South Italian red-figure pots is unequalled, catalogues the 165 Phlyax vases he knows and also 25 other South Italian red-figure representations of masks. For each item he gives a concise description, noting the types of mask and stage, bibliography, attribution, and date: it is perhaps a pity that the South Italian catalogues are not arranged by schools. There are besides a short general introduction, a select bibliography of nearly 130 titles, indexes of masks and museums, and a concordance (not too convenient) of other collections of phlyakes. The text is reproduced photographically from a typed script.

R. M. COOK

Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge

*Atlas of the Classical World*. Edited by A. A. M. VAN DER HEYDEN and H. H. SCULLARD. Pp. 222; 475 figs., 73 maps. Edinburgh: Nelson, 1959. Cloth, 70s. net.

THIS book, 14 inches high by 10 wide, consists of three parts, which are interleaved but not connected or at the same level of intelligence.

Half the space is filled by the illustrations, about equally divided between Greek and Roman. They are taken mostly from photographs of good quality, and the many aerial views deserve to help sales. But the making up of the plates in the Greek section is discreditable. Subjects of different types and scales jostle each other in any order; the divisions between them are so narrow (one twenty-fourth of an inch or less) that they are distracting or even misleading; trimming is sometimes careless, even to chopping off heads and feet; views of sites are interrupted by insets of sculpture or masonry, more disturbing than the modern buildings they mask; the numbers are not placed clearly, and reference to the captions is not always easy. The choice of topics is reasonable, the choice of subjects to illustrate them sometimes poor. The Roman section is much better and more coherent, though its captions too are condescending.

Maps occupy 34 pages. Only one is contoured—of Greece and western Anatolia at a scale of nearly 200 miles to an inch. There are some straightforward plans. But P. Calasancius and A. R. A. van Aken have applied themselves especially to coloured diagrams,

overprinted with legends and symbols. These devices are used excessively and become scarcely intelligible on Maps 17-18 and 25, which profess to show the distribution of Greek ruins and deities. The letterpress, which makes Zeus' amours into marriages (p. 83), is not scholarly.

The first two sections of the text cover Greek and Roman history, each in about 12,000 words. K. Sprey has written a sober, neat, well-balanced and adult summary, which merits better company. The third section, some 9,000 words long, is entitled 'The Heritage of Classical Culture': here M. A. Schwartz rather unctuously surveys Greek and Roman literature and offers a sketch of art that makes surprisingly little use of the illustrations.

The index is very fair. The 'Notes to the Plates' are helpful, though too short; references to large museums should quote museum numbers. M. F. Hedlund's translation is excellent, though at the top of the pages on Hellenistic history (as in the list of contents) 'Hellenism' (= 'Hellenismus') has been left uncorrected and on pp. 62-63 the names for shapes of Greek vases have not been checked.

This is a scrapbook, and as such is useful. If it had been planned with more intelligence and its plates mounted with more discretion, it could have been attractive too. Opposite the title-page the editors have framed the two phrases *κρίμα τ' ἐς δαί* and *monumentum aere perennius*; the suggestion is inept.

R. M. COOK

*Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge*

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

ERANOS

LVII, 3-4 (1959)

W. Pötscher, *Anapästpartien in den Tragödien des Aischylos*: makes observations on symmetry of structure, on love of antithesis and of repetition, and on indispensability to dramatic action found in Aeschylus' anapaests. C. Theander, *Plutarchs Forschungen in Rom*: argues that Plutarch obtained material for *Cicero* and *Numa* from oral

tradition among his Roman friends; in *Brutus* he used at first hand the *Memoirs of Brutus* composed by B.'s stepson Bibulus; he must have seen Cato's speech on the Catilinarian conspiracy, either in full or in an official summary. H. Lyngby, *Topographische Fragen des Forum-Bovarium-Gebietes in Rom*: replies to critics of her book. R. Hakamies, *A propos de 'equitium' et 'dies artificialis'*: replies to a criticism in *Eranos* (1956) of his interpretation of these words in medieval Finnish documents.



## LVIII, 1-2 (1960)

The number is dedicated to J. Svennung. I. Waern, *Greek Lullabies*: argues that, though no true examples survive, they have had an effect on Theocritus 24, Simonides fr. 13, Soph. Phil. 827 ff., and Eur. Or. 174 ff. D. Tabachovitz interprets Soph. O.T. 1036 as ἀσπιδόθυς (σπρος εἶναι), δὲ εἰ. L. Bergson, *Zur Bedeutung von ἀσπιδόθυς bei Euripides*: argues for the meaning 'basket', not 'perambulator' (L.S.J.), probably a craftsman's word, unfamiliar and so a good tragic substitute for κλίνη. S. Y. Rudberg, *Welche Vorlage benutzte Erasmus für seine editio princeps der Basilien-Homiliæ?*: answers 'Monac. gr. 141'. L. O. Sjöberg, *Codices Upsalenses graeci 6 et 8*: shows them to have come from the Escorial library. G. Bendz, *De adiectivorum in -bilis exemptionum usu quaestiones criticae et semasiologicae*: is mainly concerned with their frequency (often with active meaning) in Caelius Aurelius. F. Rundgren, *Der genitivus aestivativus im Lateinischen*: argues that the ending -i of and declension genitive was originally translative-essive, a usage preserved in the so-called genitive of price; the case took over genitive functions secondarily. S. Lundström, *Falsche Eigennamen in den Tuskulanen*: maintains that Cicero wrote Theombrotus (Tusc. i. 84, cf. *Pro Scauro* 4) by mistake for Cleombrotus, Timocreon (ii. 52) for Nicocreon, Anticleia (v. 46) for Eurycleia, but at i. 4 did mean Polyclitus. N. O. Nilsson, *Verschiedenheiten im Gebrauch der Elision in Vergils Eklogen*: shows that elision is most frequent in the probably early 2 and 3; internal variation in other eclogues may go with change of tone, or as in 5, 7, 8 differentiate speakers. B. Axelsson, *Lygdamus und Ovid*: sets out numerous passages where one poet seems to echo the other and argues that in all Ovid is the original. B. Melin, *Zum Eingangskapitel der Germania*: delivers a learned attack on Lundström's theories (*Erasmus* xxv) that the opening words *Germania omnis* purposely recall Caesar's *Gallia est omnis* . . . , and that the rest of the sentence copies obsolete information from earlier authors: it is characteristically Tacitean; Germany is defined in geographical, not political, terms, and *super* is 'in comparatively recent times'. S. Blomgren, *Spicilegium Optatianum*: discusses numerous passages of Optatus. A. Önnersfors, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des sogenannten Somniale Danielis*: gives information about manuscripts and incunabula, and historical notes on dream-interpretation in the West. J. O. Tjäder, *Der Gensler lateinische Papyrus ms. lat. 75*: gives text and commentary on this fragment of a (?) 6th-cent. letter. The other

articles are of interest only to medievalists: B. Löfstedt, *Lexicographisches zu spanischen und portugiesischen Urkunden*; A. Uddholm, *Sur l'origine de l'abréviation N, 'un tel', et du titre provençal NON*; T. Kleberg, *Eine spätmittelalterliche Proverbiasammlung (Cod. Ups. lat. 931)*; C. G. Undhagen, *Une source du prologue aux Révelations de Sainte Brigitte par le cardinal Jean de Turrecremata*; L. Hollman, *A propos Birgitta-översättningar*.

## RHEINISCHES MUSEUM

## CIII. 2 (1960)

E. Bickel, *Die Lygdamus-Elegien*: *Lygdamus* in *Lygdamus* ii. 29 is a reference to *servus amoris* in Prop. ii. 13. 96 and a pseudonym for Messalla Messalinus. V. Coulon, *Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Sophokles und Aristophanes: crambé repetita* on many passages. W. Burkert, *Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite*: compares *Od.* viii. 326 with *Il.* i. 599, xiv. 313, and xxi. 416, and finds in all of these passages accounts of the gods *πέτα ζώοντες*. All four passages belong together and the passage in *Od.* iv is an integral part of the *Odyssey*, but the poet ascribes it to Demodocus, thus dissociating himself from this view of the gods and maintaining his own belief in Zeus as the supreme god concerned with justice on earth. H. Erbac, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Xenophon*: critical notes on 16 passages. W. Jaeger, *Studia in Photium*: critical notes on five passages. K. Büchner, *Reicht die Statthalterschaft des Agricola von 77-82 oder von 78-83 n. Chr.?*: rejects the connexion of the Usipi with Domitian's Chatten campaign and argues for the earlier date. G. Radke, *Die falsche Schaltung nach Caesars Tode*: the error in the intercalation was due to Caesar's simultaneous alteration of the beginning of the civil year and to his advisedly detailed description of the time for the intercalation which he was not present to supervise. P. Steinmetz, *Menander und Theophrast*: compares the characters of the *Dyskolos* with the *Characters* of Theophrastus, and concludes that Menander saw men and life as Theophrastus taught him. F. Lasserre, *Postscriptum à l'interprétation du P. Brit. Mus. inv. 589*: publishes E. G. Turner's suggestions on this papyrus (discussed by Lasserre in *R.M.* cii. 222 ff.) that the inscriptions on the verso need not be the title of the text on the recto, and that this text may be a collection of epigrams rather than a single poem.

## STUDII CLASICE

## I (1959)

E. Conduachi, În jurul reformei monetare a lui Polycrate din Samos; C. Săndulescu, Etologia în *Cynus Hippocraticum*; M. Nasta, Recitarea orhească, un stil de interpretare a dramei arhaice; D. Protase, Sclavii în opera lui Euripide și concepția sa despre sclavaj; H. Mihăescu, Economia agricolă la Colimella; I. Stoian, Tribul *Hoplites* într-o novă inscripție din Tomis; V. A. Georgescu, De la *possiones* la *possessio*, contribuție la studiul procesului istoric de formare a noțiunii de posesie în dreptul roman; I. N. Barbu, Sincretismul cazurilor în limbile latină și greacă; I. Fischer, Sensul titlului *De rerum natura*; D. M. Pippidi, Aristotel și Aristofan—în jurul teoriei aristotelice a Comediei.

## II (1960)

(Festschrift for Professor Alexandru Graur) A. Juret, Variations des consonnes et des voyelles en indo-européen; V. Georgiev, Raporturile dintre limbile dacă, tracă și frigiană; J. Chadwick, Context and etymology in Mycenaean inscriptions; E. Benveniste, Génitif et adjectif en latin; P. Chantraine, Interférences de vocabulaire entre le grec et les langues européennes; A. Ernout, Sur une inscription métrique (Degraisi, no. 142); J. Safarewicz, Notes de phonologie latine (on the *ū* of *optima*, etc.; the values of *e*; the nasalized vowels); C. F. Kumaniecki, Quaestiuiculae Tullianae (*De Or.* 6, 142, 148-9); J. Banu, Apreciere critică a momentului socratic în istoria filozofiei grecești; N. I. Stefaenescu, Gnomele monostihuri ale lui Menandru; M. Brożek, Einiges über die Schauspielerektoren und die Komödiendichter im alten Rom; J. Irmacher, οὐ λέγεις (Mark 13, 2, etc.); N. I. Barbu, Condițiile la indicativ în greacă, latină, română; F. Vanț, Cîteva probleme de lingvistică și gnoeologie la filozofii epicurieni; A. Piatkowski, Considerații asupra cronologiei invaziei celtice în Balcani; D. M. Pippidi-E. Popescu, Relațiile dintre Histria și Apollonia Pontică în epoca ellenistică; K. Kumaniecki, Cicero în Cilicia; L. Herrmann, Le De Clementia de Sénèque et quelques faits historiques; G. Guțu, Ideile lui Seneca despre stil; E. Cizek, Despre redactarea scrisorilor lui Seneca; C. Săndulescu, Cercetări lexicologice asupra lui Celus; I. Stoian, Unele aspecte, pînă acum neconoscute, ale sclavajului la Tomis; A. M. Frenkian, Ideogramele și determinativele

în linearul B; P. Creția, Marea homerică; I. Fischer, Note de lingvistică latină (*quasi-vicaria*, *ordo* 'beginning'); F. Demetrescu, Valoarea peiorativă a sufixului *-aticus*; M. Iliescu, O construcție populară latinescă: propoziția completivă cu conjunctivul fără conjuncție; R. Vulpe, Muntenia și Moldova de jos în timpul lui Traian în lumina unei noi lecturi a papirului Hunt; I. I. Rusu, Însemnări epigrafice istriene; M. Marinescu-Himau, Un crenist brașovean la începutul veacului al xviii-lea (Etienne Bergler); T. Costa, Ausonius și Eminescu.

BOLLETINO DEL COMITATO PER LA  
PREPARAZIONE DELLA EDIZIONE  
NAZIONALE DEI CLASSICI GRECI E  
LATINI

## FASC. VIII (1960)

N. Terzaghi, *Minutiores Curas*, vii (Epigrammata Bobiensia); C. Gallavotti, *Planudea* (ii); A. Colonna, *Tatiana Ceramo e Filippo Filosofo*; A. Traglia, *Appunti per una nuova edizione delle Selve di Stazio*; A. Garzya, *Nuovi scoli alle epistole di Sinesio*; G. Bolognese, *Antichi documenti di dialettologia greca e di lessicografia erodotea*; G. B. Alberti, *Questioni tucidides*; G. Donzelli, *Per un'edizione critica di Diogene Laerzio*.

SBORNÍK PRACÍ FILOSOFICKÉ  
FAKULTY BRNĚNSKÉ UNIVERZITY:  
ŘADA ARCHEOLOGICKO-KLASICKÁ (E)

## Ročník VIII (1959)

M. R. Pernicka, Römerzeitliche Siedlung bei Olbramovice; G. Hejzlar, Signierte Henkel der griechischen Amphoren; A. Bartoněk, Die Wortparallelen αὐδῆ und φωνή in der archaischen epischen Sprache; K. Berka-R. Hošek, Textbemerkungen zu Galens Einleitung in die Logik; R. Hošek, M. Valerius Maximianus im unteren Donauraum in Jahren 176-178 u.Z.

## Ročník IX (1960)

M. R. Pernicka, Die Anfänge und die Ausbreitung des Marobudus-Reiches; B. Dostál, Römerzeitliche Funde aus Horní Dunažovice; A. Bartoněk, Zur Problematik der phonematischen Wertung der altgriechischen kurzen Diphthonge; R. Hošek, Zu Aristophanes' Plutus 176; G. Hejzlar, Bruchstück einer römischen Wasserleitungsröhre; J. Kudrna, A propos de certains problèmes concernant la réception de la Politique d'Aristote au 13ème siècle.

## NOTES AND NEWS

We congratulate the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies on the attainment of its fiftieth year and welcome the jubilee volume of the *Journal of Roman Studies*. To mark the occasion the *Journal* adds to its usual contents six articles surveying the advances which have been made over the last fifty years in various fields of Roman studies—Republican History (A. H. McDonald), Imperial History (C. G. Starr), Religion (H. J. Rose), Roman Britain (I. A. Richmond), Excavations in Rome (Gianfilippo Carettoni), and Inscriptions (Miss J. M. Reynolds). There is also a brief history of the Society by Miss M. V. Taylor, whose long service to it and its concerns has covered three-quarters of its life. Since the Society depends entirely on subscriptions for its income, its officers hope that the beginning of another half-century will bring the further increase in membership which is needed to meet rising costs of production. The Society is also celebrating the occasion with an Exhibition of Art in Roman Britain; this will be held in London, in the Hall of the Goldsmiths' Company, from 26 June to 22 July.

Dr. G. C. Richards, Fellow of Oriel College and Professor of Greek at Durham, left at his death an unpublished memoir under the title 'An Oxonian Looks Back (1885–1945)'. It has now been edited by his son, Dr. J. F. C. Richards of Columbia University, and produced in typescript for private circulation. Those who knew G. C. Richards in Oxford, in Durham, or in the Classical Association, of which he was Secretary from 1920 to 1927, will be interested in his reminiscences of a vanished age and his outspoken but kindly comments on the scholars and the scholarship of his day.

We have received from the Centaur Press of Slough its Latin Calendar for 1960. The theme is the Labours of Hercules, illustrated month by month in a series of drawings by A. J. M. Renouf. The price is three shillings.

Mr. D. C. Somervell's abridgement of Professor A. J. Toynbee's ten-volume *Study of History*, first published in two volumes, has now reappeared in a one-volume edition: a companion atlas and gazetteer was published last year.

Among recent American reprints is one of Sir Edward Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, the second edition of which appeared in 1883.

The *Clouds* of Aristophanes will be performed in Greek by members of the University in the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, on 20–24 February 1962; there will be performances at 2.15 p.m. each day and also at 5.15 p.m. on Thursday, at 8 p.m. on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, and at 8.15 p.m. on Saturday. The producer will be Mr. Donald Beves; the music has been specially composed by Mr. P. F. Radcliffe. The text of the play, with a new prose translation by H. J. and P. E. Easterling, will be published this autumn (at 6s.) by Messrs. W. Heffer & Sons.



## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Excerpts or extracts from periodicals and collections are not included unless they are also published separately.*

- Armstrong (A. H.), Markus (R. A.)** Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy. Pp. ix + 162. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1960. Cloth, 15s. net.
- Bally (J. C.)** Études sur la Maison Carrée à Nîmes. (Collection Latomus, xlvii.) Pp. 204; 27 plates, 5 figs. Brussels: Latomus, 1960. Paper, 350 B. fr.
- Beckmann (F.)** Mensch und Welt in der Dichtung Vergils. 2. Auflage. (Orbis Antiquus, 1.) Pp. 35. Münster: Aschendorff, 1960. Paper, DM. 2.40. [First ed. 1949; see C.R. lvi. 229. A bibliography has been added.]
- Bengtson (H.)** Griechische Geschichte. (Müllers Handb. der Altertumsw., iii. 4.) Zweite, durchgesehene und ergänzte Auflage. Pp. xix + 609; 11 maps. Munich: Beck, 1960. Cloth, DM. 48 (paper, DM. 42).
- Birdsall (J. N.)** The Bodmer Papyrus of the Gospel of John. (Tyndale New Testament Lecture, 1958.) Pp. 18. London: Tyndale Press, 1960. Paper, 1s. 6d.
- Bloch (R.), Cousin (J.)** Rome et son destin. Pp. xi + 545; 40 plates (8 in colour), 42 figs., 18 maps. Paris: Armand Colin, 1960. Stoff paper, 51 fr.
- Bunbury (E. H.)** A History of Ancient Geography. 2 vols. Pp. xxxiv + 666; xix + 743; 10 maps. New York: Dover Publications, 1960. Cloth, \$12.50. [Reprint of the second edition of 1883.]
- Cardanus (B.)** Varro Logistoricus über die Götterverehrung (Curio de cultu deorum). Pp. 74. Würzburg: Triltsch, 1960. Paper, DM. 4.20.
- Dain (A.), Mazon (P.)** Sophocle. Tome iii (Phil., Oed. Col.) Texte établi et traduit. (Collection Budé.) Pp. viii + 156 (mostly double). Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960. Paper, 15 fr.
- Derry (T. K.), Williams (T. L.)** A Short History of Technology from earliest times to A.D. 1900. Pp. xviii + 782; 353 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. Cloth, 98s. net.
- Dover (K. J.)** Greek Word Order. Pp. xiii + 72. Cambridge: University Press, 1960. Cloth, 15s. net.
- Duchemin (J.)** La houlette et la lyre: recherche sur les origines pastorales de la poésie. i. Hermès et Apollon. Pp. 379. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960. Paper, 15 fr.
- Dumezil (G.)** Hommages à. (Collection Latomus.) Pp. 237. Brussels: Latomus, 1960. Paper, 450 B. fr.
- Dunst (G.)** Bemerkungen zu griechischen Inschriften. (Sitz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Kl. f. Sprachen, 1960. 1.) Pp. 52. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960. Paper, DM. 4.70.
- Fanfani (A.)** Poemi omerici ed economia antica. Pp. viii + 142. Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, 1960. Paper, L. 1,200.
- Frisk (H.)** Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Lieferung 10. Pp. xxxiii + 74. Heidelberg: Winter, 1959. Paper, DM. 8.60.
- Galzer (M.)** Caesar: der Politiker und Staatsmann. Sechste, neu bearbeitete Auflage. Pp. viii + 320; 2 plates, map. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960. Cloth, DM. 14.80.
- Gernet (L.)** Demosthène: Plaidoyers Civils. Tome iv (lvii-liv). Texte établi et traduit. (Collection Budé.) Pp. 190 (partly double). Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960. Paper, 15 fr.
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- Hackforth (R.)** Plato's Phaedo. Translated with introduction and commentary. Pp. x + 200. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1960. Paper, \$1.25. [Reprint: first published 1952.]
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Continued from p. 2 of cover]

(Poultney), D. M. JONES, 62; *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* (Hammond), A. R. W. HARRISON, 62; *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegsführung der Griechen* (Popp), W. G. FORREST, 67; *Rom, Römerium und Imperium in der griechischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (Palm), J. A. CROOK, 68; *Autioche païenne et chrétienne* (Festugière), H. CHADWICK, 70; *Greek Painting* (Robertson), E. M. COOK, 71; *Myth and Man* (Kerényi), J. A. MORRISON, 73; *Pythos* (Fontenrose), H. J. ROSE, 76; *La nuit et les enfants de la nuit* (Ramboux), H. J. ROSE, 77.

Short Reviews	79
Summaries of Periodicals	95
Notes and News	98
Books Received	99

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